

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

LIVY

AB VRBE
CONDITA

BOOK XXII

EDITED BY JOHN BRISCOE
AND SIMON HORNBLOWER

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has its origins in the work done by Hornblower after 2015 for a monograph about Lycophron's *Alexandra*, Rome and the Hellenistic world,¹ in which the period of and immediately after the Hannibalic or Second Punic War featured extensively. At that time, he felt the absence of a good, large-scale, up-to-date set of commentary volumes on Livy's third decade, like the series of Oxford commentaries inaugurated by Robert Ogilvie in 1965 (books 1–5) and continued by Stephen Oakley (books 6–10; 1997–2005) and John Briscoe (books 31–45; 1973–2012).² In 2017 Briscoe, whose Oxford Classical Text of books 21–25 had been published in the previous year,³ accepted an invitation from Hornblower to collaborate with him on a commentary on book 22. The absence of commentaries mentioned above continues, and the present book is written on different lines, for a different publisher and for a series with particular and explicitly literary aims. We have tried to keep those aims in mind throughout, but the events narrated were historical (however rhetorically handled), and we have sought to do justice to matters of history as well as of literature. The balance of topics covered by the eleven sections of the Introduction aims to reflect this.

There is no separate section on topography in the Introduction, but for Trasimene and Cannae in particular, see the introductory notes to 4.1–7.5 and 40.4–50.3 (on this style of reference see below). Hornblower re-visited Trasimene and Cannae in June 2019. We believe that Lazenby 1978 was right in his locations for the two main battles, and have used his maps as the basis for our own (see further below). The more important Italian and Spanish sites are marked on our maps 1 and 3, and we do not usually refer to those maps in the Commentary. We do, however, aim to give precise references to the *Barrington Atlas* (*Barr.*).

Of the ten books which Livy devoted to the Hannibalic War, book 22, the Trasimene and Cannae narrative, was the obvious choice. In the course of our writing, Stephen Oakley remarked to one of us that 'Livy is at his best when writing about Rome's defeats', and by that criterion alone, book 22 stands out within an exceptionally fine and polished decade. Of the other nine, only book 27 rivals it for dramatic power, but that book ends with a Roman victory: the battle of the Metaurus river (207 BC), which as Livy himself says,⁴ redressed the catastrophe of Cannae.

We were delighted to have our proposal for a 'Green and Yellow' edition (only the second such on any book of Livy)⁵ accepted by the Syndics

¹ Hornblower 2018.

² See Abbreviations, section on texts and commentaries.

³ Briscoe 2016, and see the companion volume *Liviana* (Briscoe 2018).

⁴ 27.49.5. ⁵ The first was Kraus 1994, on book 6

of Cambridge University Press, on the recommendation of the Latin academic editors of the series, Philip Hardie and Stephen Oakley himself. We are immensely grateful to them both for their encouragement and advice, and above all for their hard work on our drafts, which are much improved as a result of their comments and suggestions, large and small.

Our other main creditor is Jim Adams – a friend of both of us, and Briscoe’s colleague at Manchester for 23 years – who has always been ready with wise advice and valuable comments, particularly, of course, on matters of Latinity. His forthcoming monograph on asyndeton is eagerly awaited, but meanwhile we have profited greatly from his suggestions on that topic. In addition, he commented on and suggested valuable improvements and additions to Introduction section 7(*h*), ‘*Speeches*’; but the usual exemption clause applies. Lastly, we thank him for the loan of his venerable copy of the excellent school edition of book 22 by Powe and Shipp 1936, a rare book, published in Sydney. Our own book is dedicated to Jim.

We thank Oliver Taplin for advice on a detail about Hannibal’s wigs (1.3n.), and Anna Hartmann and Marco Petoletti for help with the problem of Busa in Boccaccio (see Introduction n. 115). We must also thank everyone at Cambridge University Press who has contributed to the publication of this volume, particularly Classics Publisher Michael Sharp and Content Manager Sarah Starkey, also copy-editor John Jacobs and proof-reader Jane Burkowski.

Briscoe would like, once again, to thank the staff of the University of Manchester Library, including the Library-based members of the University’s IT services, for their constant and friendly help.

For permission to adapt the maps of the battle-sites of Trasimene and Cannae in Lazenby, *Hannibal’s war*⁶ we thank John Lazenby himself, and Liverpool Classical Press, who have inherited the classics and ancient history list of Aris and Phillips, the original publisher. The other two maps (Italy; Spain) are reproduced from the second edition (1989) of *Cambridge ancient history* VIII, where they accompanied Briscoe’s chapter (3) on the Second Punic War.

Briscoe has contributed to the new Loeb edition of books 21–22, by John Yardley and Dexter Hoyos, which was published while this volume was in Press (Yardley 2019); we have tried to take account of it even when it is not specifically cited.

Finally, presentation. For brevity and clarity, **bold** numbers in references to Livy are to chapters in book 22 itself, so that ‘see 9.5n.’ means ‘see our note on 22.9.5’. The bracketed numbers after the names of (mostly) Roman individuals refer to their numbering in *RE* (see Abbreviations) in the entry under the relevant *gens*; thus ‘Q. Fabius Maximus (116)’ at 8.6n. means he is Fabius no. 116 in *RE*.

⁶ Lazenby 1978.

ABBREVIATIONS

I ANCIENT AUTHORS AND WORKS

These usually follow *OCD*¹ except that L. = Livy and Th. = Thucydides.

II LIVY TEXTS, COMMENTARIES AND TRANSLATIONS REFERRED TO

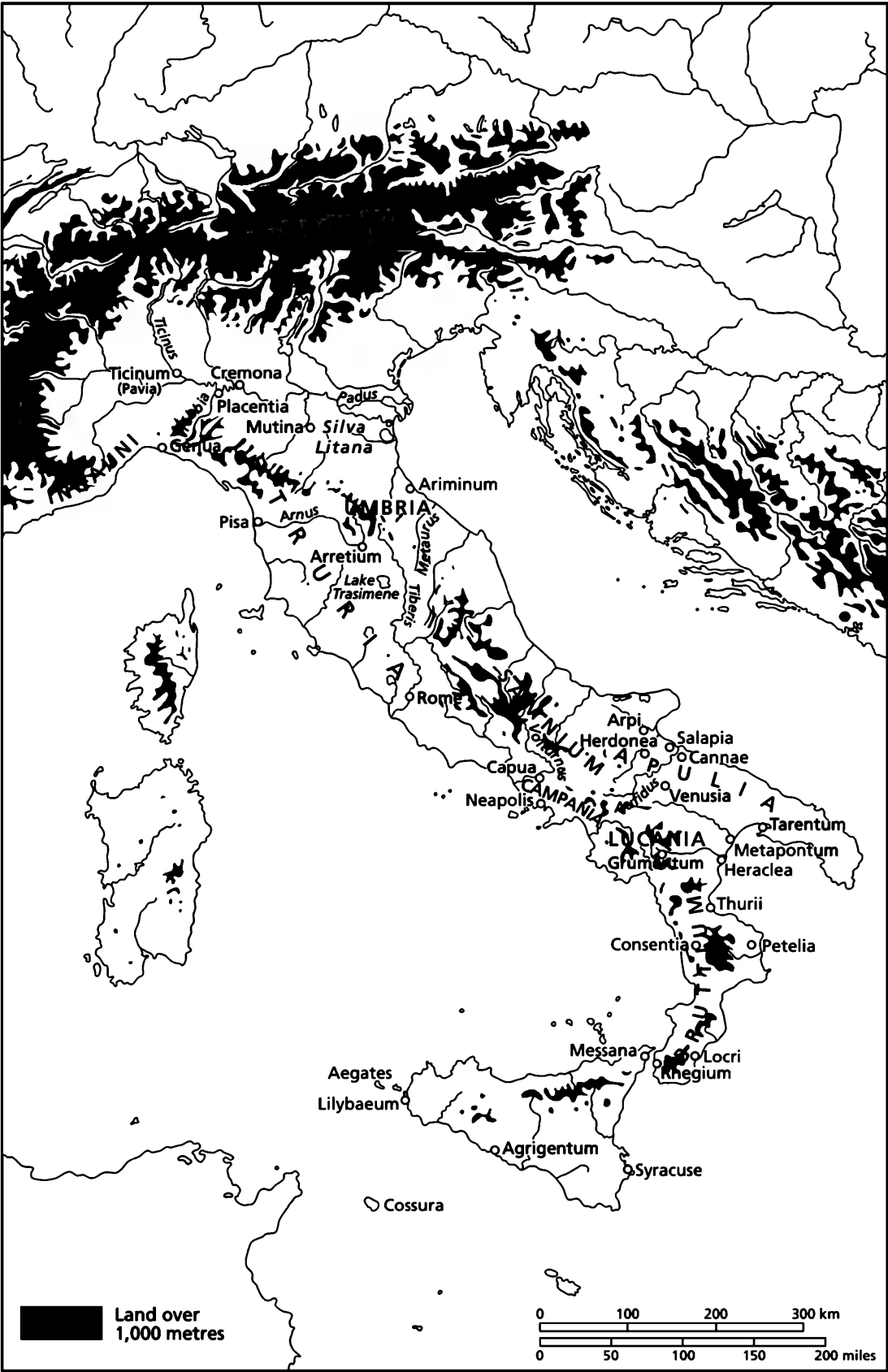
- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Briscoe 1973 | J. Briscoe, <i>A commentary on Livy books xxxi–xxxiii</i> . Oxford, 1973 |
| 1981 | <i>A commentary on Livy books xxxiv–xxxvii</i> . Oxford, 1981 |
| 2008 | <i>A commentary on Livy books 38–40</i> . Oxford, 2008 |
| 2012a | <i>A commentary on Livy books 41–45</i> . Oxford, 2012 |
| 2012b | see <i>Works Cited</i> |
| 2016 | <i>Titi Liui ab urbe condita libri xxi–xxv</i> . Oxford, 2016 |
| Butler and
Scullard 1953 | H. E. Butler and H. H. Scullard, <i>Livy, book XXX</i> ⁶ . London, 1953 |
| Conway 1902 | R. S. Conway, <i>Livy book II, edited with introduction and notes</i> . Cambridge, 1902 |
| C–W | Walters, C. F. and R. S. Conway, <i>Titi Liui ab urbe condita, libri xxi–xxv</i> . Oxford, 1929 |
| Dimsdale | M. S. Dimsdale, <i>Livy book XXII</i> . Cambridge, 1889, and reprints |
| Foster | B. O. Foster, <i>Livy, books xxi–xxii</i> (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, MA, 1929 |
| Hoyos 2006 | notes to Yardley 2006 |
| Kraus 1994 | C. Kraus, <i>Livy ab urbe condita book VI</i> . Cambridge, 1994 |
| Oakley 1997 | S. P. Oakley, <i>A commentary on Livy books vi–x</i> , vol. I, <i>Introduction and book VI</i> . Oxford, 1997 |
| 1998 | <i>A commentary on Livy books vi–x</i> , vol. II, <i>books VI and VIII</i> . Oxford, 1998 |
| 2005a | <i>A commentary on Livy books vi–x</i> , vol. III, <i>book IX</i> . Oxford, 2005 |
| 2005b | <i>A commentary on Livy books vi–x</i> , vol. IV, <i>book X</i> . Oxford, 2005 |
| Ogilvie 1965 | R. M. Ogilvie, <i>A commentary on Livy books 1–5</i> . Oxford, 1965 |
| Powe and Shipp | A. B. Powe and G. P. Shipp, <i>T. Livi liber XXII</i> ⁷ . Sydney, 1936 |

T-P	J. Thompson and F. G. Plaistowe, <i>Livy book XXII</i> . London, 1901, reprinted Bristol, 1988
Vallet	G. Vallet, <i>Tite-Live ab urbe condita liber XXII</i> . Paris, 1966
W-M	W. Weissenborn and H. J. Müller (eds.), <i>Livius ab urbe condita</i> , vol. IV ⁹ , Buch XXII. Berlin, 1905
Yardley 2006	J. C. Yardley (tr.), <i>Livy, Hannibal's war, books 21–30</i> (Oxford World's Classics). Oxford, 2006
2019	J. C. Yardley, D. Hoyos and J. Briscoe, <i>Livy, History of Rome, books 21–22</i> (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, MA, 2019

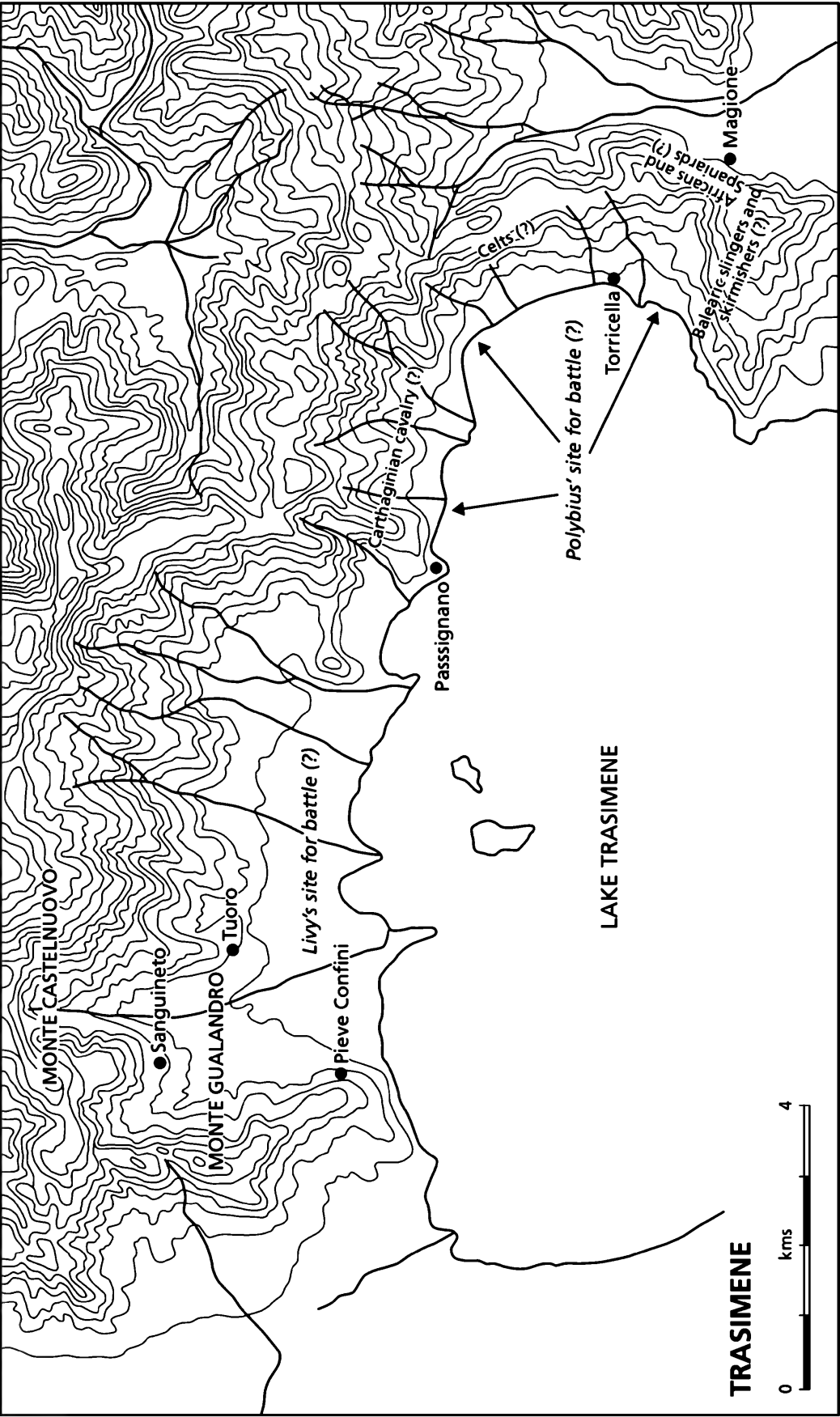
III OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

app.	apparatus criticus
Barr.	R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world</i> . Princeton–Woodstock, Oxon., 2000
CAH VIII	A. E. Astin, F. W. Walbank, M. W. Frederiksen and R. M. Ogilvie (eds.), <i>Cambridge ancient history</i> , 2nd (actually new) edn, vol. VIII. Cambridge, 1989
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CT	S. Hornblower, <i>Commentary on Thucydides</i> , 3 vols. Oxford, 1991–2008
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 15 vols. Leiden, 1923–58
FRHist	T. J. Cornell (ed.), <i>The fragments of the Roman historians</i> , 3 vols. Oxford, 2013
HCP	F. W. Walbank, <i>A historical commentary on Polybius</i> , 3 vols. Oxford, 1957–79 (references are to vol. 1 unless otherwise specified)
HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams</i> . Cambridge, 1965
H-S	J. B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i> . Munich, 1965
IACP	M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen (eds.), <i>An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis</i> . Oxford, 2004
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
ILLRP	A. Degraffi, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae</i> , 2 vols. Florence, vol. 1 ² , 1965, vol. 2, 1963
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> , 3 vols. Berlin, 1892–1916
Inscr. Ital.	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i>

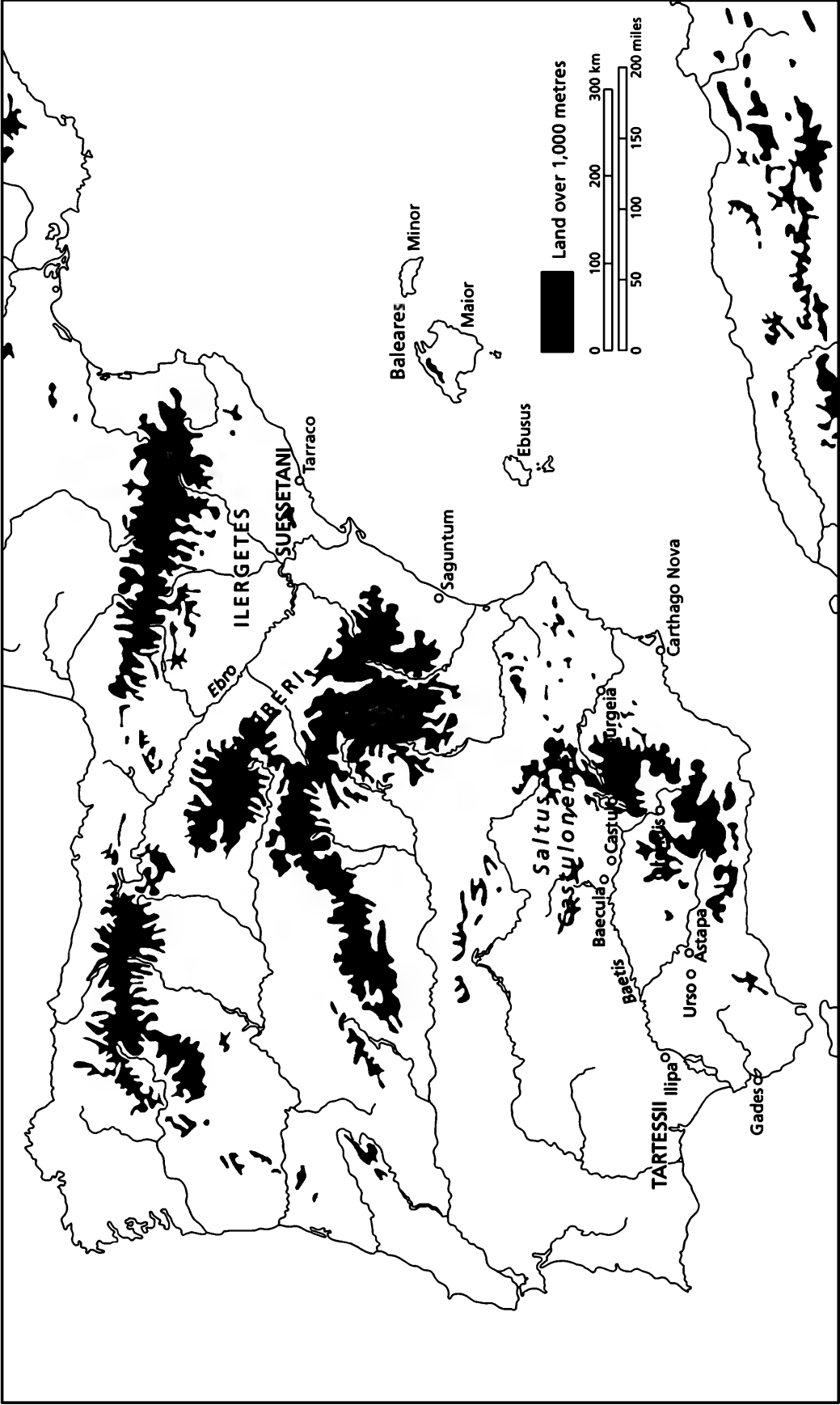
K–St	R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischer Sprache</i> , 3rd edn, rev. A. Thierfelder, 3 vols. Leverkusen, 1955
LGPN	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews et al. (eds.), <i>A lexicon of Greek personal names</i> , 5 vols. in 8. Oxford, 1987–2018
L–S	C. T. Lewis and C. Short, <i>A Latin dictionary</i> . Oxford, 1879
LSJ ⁹	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> ⁹ . Oxford, 1940 (with P. G. W. Glare, <i>Revised Supplement</i> , Oxford, 1996)
LTUR	M. Steinby and A. La Regina (eds.), <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> , 10 vols. (6 the city, 4 the suburbium). Rome, 1993–2009
MRR	T. R. S. Broughton, <i>Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> , 3 vols. New York (vols. 1–2) and Atlanta, GA (vol. 3), 1951–86
OCD ¹	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (eds.), <i>Oxford Classical dictionary</i> ¹ . Oxford, 2012
OCT	Oxford Classical Text; see Briscoe 2016 in section II above
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> , 2 vols. Leipzig, 1902–3
OLD	P. G. W. Glare (ed.), <i>Oxford Latin dictionary</i> . Oxford, 1982
PECS	R. Stilwell (ed.), <i>The Princeton encyclopedia of Classical sites</i> . Princeton, 1976
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RS	<i>Roman statutes</i> ; see Crawford 1996 in <i>Works Cited</i>
SB	D. R. Shackleton Bailey, editions of Cicero's correspondence, with his own numberings
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> . 1923–
Sk	O. Skutsch; see Skutsch 1985 in <i>Works Cited</i>
SVT	H. Schmitt, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> , vol. III. Munich, 1969
Syll. ³	W. Dittenberger et al., <i>Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum</i> ³ , 4 vols. Leipzig, 1915–24
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> . Leipzig–Stuttgart–Berlin, 1900–



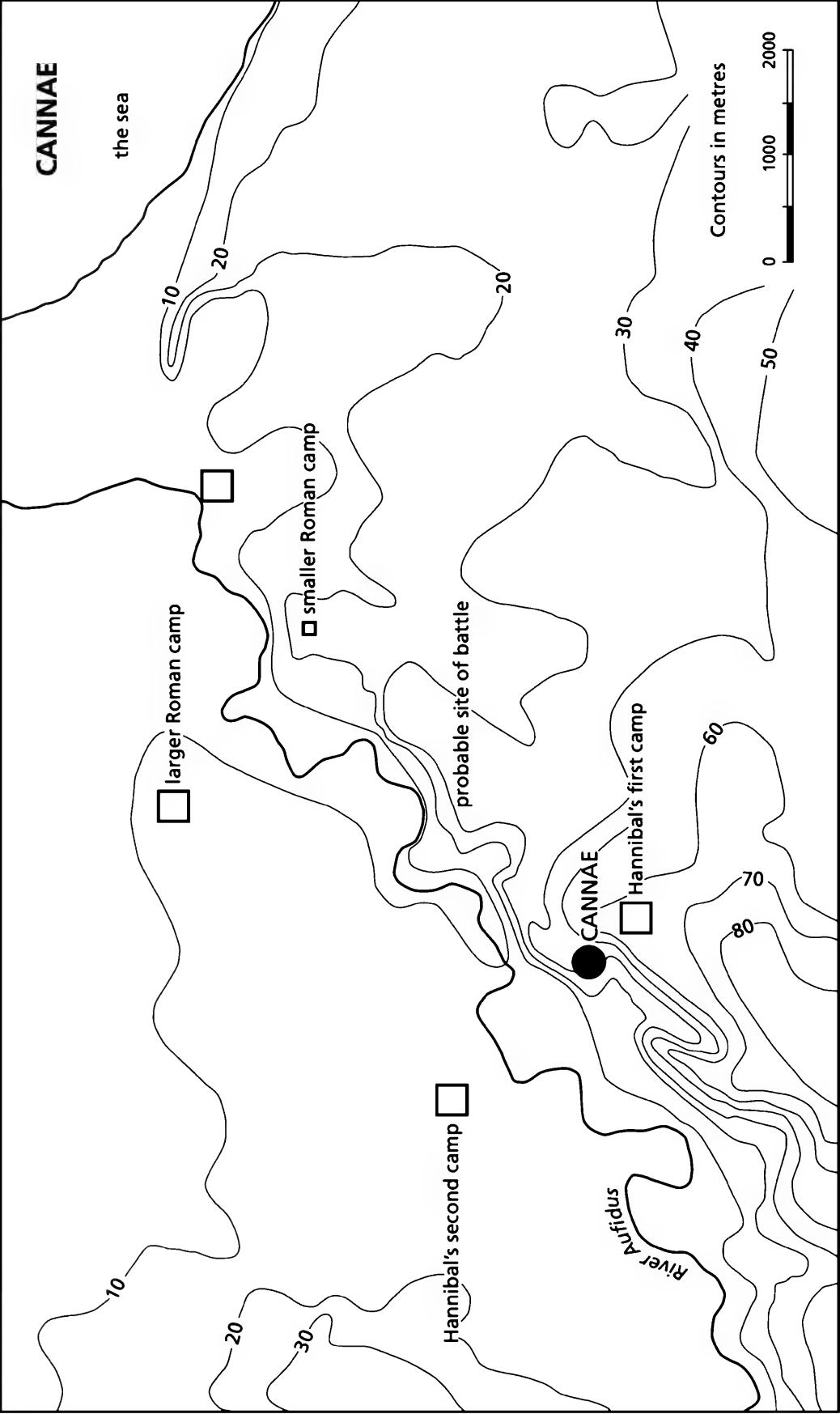
Map 1. Italy



Map 2. Trasimene



Map 3. Spain



Map 4. Cannae

INTRODUCTION

1 LIVY'S LIFE AND WORK¹

Jerome placed Livy's birth in 59 BC and his death in AD 17, dates which are now generally accepted.² He was born and died at Patavium (*Barr.* Map 19 D4; mod. Padua; Padova in Italian). It is not known when he came to Rome or how much time he spent there, but he was on familiar terms with Augustus, who 'twitted him with being a Pompeian',³ and he encouraged the young future emperor Claudius to write history.⁴ Books 21–30 were composed in the mid to late 20s BC.⁵

L. wrote a history of Rome in a total of 142 books, from the legendary events preceding the foundation of the city⁶ to the death of Drusus, the younger brother of the emperor Tiberius, in 9 BC. Only books 1–10, covering the period down to 292 BC, and books 21–45, covering the years from 218 to 167, survive (and books 41–45, mainly concerned with the Third Macedonian War, in one manuscript, written in late antiquity but lacunose and highly corrupt). For the rest, we have only (i) a number of fragments, most of them non-verbatim citations in other authors, (ii) summaries of all the books except 136 and 137, known as the *periochae* and preserved in a normal manuscript tradition, and (iii) papyrus fragments (known as the Oxyrhynchus epitome) of a summary of books 37–40 and 48–55.⁷

Until the advent of the compressed and abbreviated Gothic script (in the thirteenth century) no more than ten books of L. could be fitted into

¹ See also Ogilvie 1965: 1–5; Kraus 1994: 1–9.

² Syme (1979c: 414–15) and Ogilvie (1965: 1) raised both dates by five years (64 BC–AD 12). Jerome's dates are defended by Badian (1993: 10–11); cf. *FRHist* I 82. Burgess (2002: 31 n. 68) prefers 60 as the date of birth.

³ Syme 1939: 317, citing Tac. *Ann.* 4.34.3. ⁴ Suet. *Claud.* 41.1.

⁵ Cf. Oakley 1997: 109.

⁶ Some manuscripts, including the Puteaneus, have *ab urbe condita*, but it cannot be regarded as certain that this was L.'s own title. It first appears in a printed edition in the 1820s and became established following Weissenborn's first Teubner edition of 1850–1.

⁷ See *OCD*¹ 'Livy' for a summary of the evidence. The most recent edition of the *periochae* and the Oxyrhynchus epitome is that of Jal 1984. A commentary on the *periochae* and fragments (see below) by David Levene is in preparation; and see Levene 2015a: 318–22 for the end of the *periocha* of book 22; for the text of the *periochae*, see Roszbach 1910 (Teubner ed., including the Oxyrhynchus epitome). Chaplin 2007 provides a translation of all the *periochae*, with brief notes, at the end of her World's Classics tr. of books 41–45. There are 76 fragments (citations from later authors), printed in Jal 1979; they include thirteen fragments of books 11–20.

a single parchment codex. For that reason his work became known as the decades, and the story of the transmission of his text varies from decade to decade. Whether L. himself planned his work in blocks of five or ten books (pentads or decades), with divisions at historically significant points, is a different question.⁸ The existence and content of what is effectively a second preface at the beginning of book 6 shows beyond doubt that L. conceived of the first five books as a unit and books 21–30, again with a preface of its own (21.1.1–3) are devoted to the Second Punic or Hannibalic War (see further section 2 below). There is another preface at the beginning of the fourth decade (31.1.1–5), which is mainly concerned with Rome's wars with Philip V of Macedon and the Seleucid king Antiochus III, the latter beginning in book 36, and concludes with the death of Philip V of Macedon, leaving the Third Macedonian War, which brought about the end of the Macedonian monarchy, to the final surviving pentad. There is no discernible break at the end of book 10, but the First Punic War begins in book 16. The internal structure of the third decade and the question of a clear division between books 21–25 and 26–30 are discussed in section 4 below. Attempts have been made to discern pentadic and decadic division in books 46–142, but they are artificial and force the evidence.⁹

2 THE COURSE OF THE WAR¹⁰

(a) *The Background*¹¹

Rome began life in the early first millennium BC (much earlier than the conventional foundation date of 753) as a small hilltop settlement in central Italy. By the end of the seventh century it had become a proper city-state,

⁸ In favour of this theory, see e.g. Walsh 1961: 5–6, 173–4; Stadter 1972 [2009]; Luce 1977: 1–32 and Mineo 2006. For further bibliography on the structure of L.'s work, cf. Briscoe 1981: 397, last item.

⁹ Cf. Syme 1979c: 404 [1959: 31]: 'If Livy began his work with decades in mind, they cracked and broke under pressure of the matter.'

¹⁰ The main aim of this simplified and lightly documented section is limited: to make the events narrated in book 22 – very briefly summarised in (c) – intelligible to readers with little or no knowledge of Roman history before and after the events narrated in that book (which contains explicit or implicit forward allusions: below, section 7 pp. 57–8). Assertions will be dogmatic (this is particularly true of (b), because some crucial items of evidence for the causes of the war are unclear or mutually contradictory, and modern views therefore differ appreciably). Sub-section (d) offers a very succinct sketch of events down to the end of the war in 201.

¹¹ For Roman history before the Punic Wars see Cornell 1995, or much more briefly *OCD*⁴ 'Rome (history)', section 1; and there is much of relevance (and good up-to-date bibliography) in the lively account at Harris 2016: 15–87. On the early beginnings of Roman naval power, Harris 2017 is important; and see Harris 2016: 26 and 32–4.

with a small territory and a mixed population, but some monumental buildings and a civic meeting place. It was by then in touch with the wider world and receptive to Greek culture: many of the cities of southern Italy were in fact Greek foundations. The Romans themselves claimed descent from Trojan refugees led by Aeneas who came west after the destruction of their city, as narrated in Greek epics; but this mythical story had somehow to be combined with chronologically incompatible stories of local founding rulers, Romulus and his shadowy twin Remus. At around 500, Rome ceased to be a monarchy and became a republic under two consuls, elected annually; by 300, a senate of life-members was in firm control of the direction of policy. After the end of the Samnite Wars in the early third century, the Romans controlled, directly or indirectly, much of Italy; and Rome began to be a naval power in a small way as early as the 330s. A Greek poem called the *Alexandra*, ostensibly by a poet called Lycophron who lived in the early decades of the third century, made the Trojan princess Cassandra predict Roman 'sceptre and monarchy of land and sea', evidently describing the state of affairs prevailing in the poet's own time (*Alexandra* 1229). But if taken seriously, as it should be, such pan-Mediterranean power is impossible before the war of 264–241 against the maritime power Carthage (the 'First Punic'¹² War'); this gave the Romans their first overseas possession, the province of Sicily. So the poem may well be pseudonymous and date from perhaps the late 190s BC. By the end of that decade the Romans had, in rapid sequence, defeated Hannibal's Carthage (Zama, 202), Philip V of Macedon (Cynoscephalae, 197) and the Seleucid king Antiochus III (Magnesia, 190). Cassandra's 'prophecy' had now come true.

(b) *The Causes and Opening Phase of the Second Punic or Hannibalic War*¹³

A few years after the end of the First Punic War (238/7), the Romans seized Sardinia, and the second-century BC Greek historian Polybius, although an admirer of Roman institutions and a friend of prominent

¹² 'Punic' (Latin *Poenus*) means 'Phoenician'; Carthage was supposedly founded from Phoenician Tyre in the eastern Mediterranean. For the role of Carthage in the formation of Phoenician ethnic identity, see Quinn 2017.

¹³ For the Hannibalic War, see De Sanctis 1968 [originally 1916; see below, n. 261]; *MRR* I 236–323; Briscoe, *CAH* VIII ch. 3; Lazenby 1978; Seibert 1993a and b; Hoyos 2011 part 3 and 2015a and 2015b (and numerous other works by this author). For the ancient sources see section 3. Hannibal himself wrote something in Greek 'to the Rhodians' about the campaigns of Manlius Vulso in the 180s BC. This gets him into Jacoby's collection of the fragments of the Greek historians, but it was probably only a letter (*FGH* 181 F1, the only fragment). On the anti-Roman warnings to the Rhodians which it might have contained, see Meyer 1924: 455 n. 2.

individual Romans, nevertheless regarded this as a grave injustice and a cause of the Second War two decades later (218–201).¹⁴ It generated active Carthaginian resentment,¹⁵ which took the form of the assertion and expansion of Carthaginian power in Spain by three related commanders, Hamilcar Barca (until his death in 229), then his son-in-law Hasdrubal, and then (from 221) Hamilcar's son Hannibal. This resentment was symbolised by the story – romantic but not necessarily false – that the nine-year-old Hannibal was made by his father to swear an oath of enmity to the Roman people.¹⁶ Two pieces of Roman diplomacy in the 220s made it clear that the Romans also had interests in Spain: in combination, these were provocations and made a collision with Carthage inevitable.¹⁷ The first in time was an alliance with the city of Saguntum, the second, by which the Carthaginians undertook not to cross i.e. go north of the river Ebro under arms (Pol. 2.13.7), was an implied renunciation by Rome of territory south of the river (see map 3). In itself the second was not a *casus belli*, but it was inconsistent with the first, because Saguntum was south of the Ebro (there is some confusion in the sources about this), and if the Carthaginians attacked Saguntum, the Romans would be bound to defend their new allies. When Hannibal looked certain to attack Saguntum, its citizens appealed to Rome for help. A Roman embassy warned Hannibal off, but in late 219 the city fell after an eight-month siege and without a Roman declaration of war. This declaration duly followed at the beginning of the new consular year, 218 (the delay does not indicate pacific Roman intentions). Hannibal marched against Italy across the Pyrenees and Alps. In north Italy Hannibal defeated the Romans in a minor cavalry engagement at the river Ticinus and a larger battle at the river Trebia.

(c) *Trasimene and Cannae*

Most of the events of 217 and 216 are covered by book 22 itself, so the story can be quickly told (for modern work on Trasimene and Cannae see the introductory nn. to 4.1–7.5 and 40.4–50.3). In the morning fog of an early summer's day in 217, the consul Flaminius was caught by Hannibal in an ambush by Lake Trasimene in Etruria. He and 15,000 of his men were

¹⁴ Pol. 3.30.4, cf. 28.1–2. (201 is the date of the final settlement following Zama the previous year.)

¹⁵ Pol. 3.10.5.

¹⁶ L. 21.1.4, introduced by the distancing but not dismissive formula *fama est*.

¹⁷ On the causes of the war, a much-disputed topic, see (for the view here taken) Harris 1979: 200–5; Briscoe *CAH* VIII 44–5. Seibert (1993b: 117–20) devoted three closely-printed pages to a list of the most important bibliography since 1876.

killed: 'we have been defeated in a great battle', as the praetor announced at Rome. After the battle, Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, the 'delayer' (*Cunctator*), was appointed dictator by the people, with M. Minucius Rufus as his Master of the Horse, i.e. lieutenant and deputy. Fabius now implemented an extreme form of his famous policy of attrition and avoidance of pitched battles in conditions favourable to Hannibal. Tensions between dictator and his rash deputy led to the equalisation of their *imperium*; but these were resolved after Fabius rescued Minucius from a tight spot. Hannibal had moved by a circuitous route from Etruria to Apulia, and the consuls for the new year 216, L. Aemilius Paullus and C. Terentius Varro, fought and lost an even greater battle at Cannae, with even greater losses. Paullus was killed but Varro survived, and was thanked at Rome for 'not despairing of the *res publica*'.

(d) *The Rest of the War*

After Cannae, there was no full-scale battle in Italy for nearly a decade: not until the battle of the Metaurus river in Umbria (207), at which Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal, who had led his men from Spain in an attempt to join his brother, was killed in the course of his army's defeat by the combined forces of the consuls M. Livius Salinator and C. Claudius Nero. His head was cut off and thrown before Hannibal's camp in southern Italy. (See section 4 p. 18.)

During the intervening years, Hannibal made only one attempt to probe the defences of the city of Rome (26.10, in 211). His aim was never to destroy Rome (58.3), but to dismantle the Roman system of Italian alliances and friendships. He failed in this, despite some defections (see esp. 61.10–15) and internal divisions, not all on class lines, despite a famous passage of L. to that effect: 24.2.8, claiming that the local senates generally favoured Rome in the conflict, the plebs favoured Carthage. In fact it was the aristocrats at Tarentum (Greek Taras, a city with a fine harbour, see below) who went over to Carthage in 213; the city was not regained for Rome until 209. But the manpower losses at Trasimene and Cannae, and the Fabian policy of delay, *cunctatio*, and non-engagement (see below, section 9) called for mobilisation on a large scale and across several theatres, and this placed enormous strains on the Roman economy. L. reports many harsh financial expedients in the years after 216.¹⁸

The war could not be won by *cunctatio*, although it could have been lost by the costly mistakes risked by the opposite strategy. Hannibal's

¹⁸ Nicolet 1963. See 61.1n. on *pecuniae*

strengths, and therefore the Roman weaknesses which had made the surprise outcome of Cannae possible, lay in his superior numbers of skilled cavalry and greater flexibility on the battle-field (45.5–49.18n.). His main weakness was that without numerous Italian allies or other reinforcements, his power and popularity must diminish yearly while he lived off the land, whereas Roman capacity for replacement was virtually unlimited (as Pol. says explicitly: 3.89.9). He could hope for fresh forces and supplies only by land from Spain or by sea from North Africa (or from Spain, if Rome had not possessed naval dominance). Hasdrubal's death at the Metaurus closed off the first option for good. As for the second, Roman control of the sea lanes was almost absolute (see 2.10n. for the arrival of some replacement elephants from Carthage), and was a vital factor in the winning of the war: not for nothing did Lycophron make Trojan Cassandra predict Roman rule over land *and sea*. Hannibal showed early awareness of the importance of the naval factor when he moved against Rome's rich and loyal maritime ally Naples straight after Cannae (23.1.5), but the Neapolitans stayed firm and their great harbour was denied to Carthage.¹⁹ Hannibal turned to Capua instead. For Tarentum see above. It was a blow to Rome when in 215 the new client ruler of another great naval city with a fine harbour, Sicilian Syracuse, went over to Carthage; but in 212 Claudius Marcellus recaptured it. (In the next year Capua, too, was recovered five years after its defection to Hannibal in 216, and was treated with exemplary savagery.) Marcellus' reckless death in a trivial skirmish in south Italy (208) was a waste of a good military talent; as a man of over sixty, he should have known better, says L.: 27.27.11; Pol. 10.32 delivers a much longer lecture here. There remained the young Scipio.

The Roman effort in Spain, under the Scipio brothers Publius and Gnaeus, went very well until 211, when both were killed in rapid succession. Their son and nephew Publius, the future Africanus, replaced them as a *priuatus cum imperio*. His military reforms corrected the inflexibility which had contributed to the catastrophe at Cannae (the second Roman weakness noted above), and they enabled him to defeat Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal at Baecula (208) and then another Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, at Ilipa (206). The former managed to slip out of Spain into Italy; but only to meet with defeat and death at the Metaurus (above).

Scipio returned to Rome to hold the consulship of 205, and Africa was added to his command, although not without a domestic struggle. L. narrates the Zama campaign in book 30, but he has sprinkled some

¹⁹ Hannibal's treaty of friendship with Philip V of Macedon (Pol. 7.9, a more sensational version at L. 23.33) had little effect on the course of the Second Punic War.

forward allusions as early as book 21 (section 7(i) below). A crucial factor in Scipio's victory – achieved by clever diplomacy – was the help of the cavalry forces of the Numidian prince Masinissa. This corrected the first of the Roman weaknesses noted above: cavalry deficiency (but see below, section 10(a) for allied cavalry). The final settlement of 201 left Carthage intact, but with a massive indemnity to pay over fifty years. They paid it; but Carthage was destroyed in 146 after the brief Third Punic War, by Scipio Aemilianus, grandson of the consul Aemilius Paullus who fell at Cannae, and adopted grandson of Africanus.

Strong personalities such as Hannibal, Fabius, Marcellus and Scipio have encouraged historians ancient and modern to view the war and its outcome in terms of the achievements and shortcomings of individuals, and of the clashes between them: most obviously, battle-field clashes of Roman commanders against Carthaginian, but also political struggles at home between the protagonists on each side and their rivals and detractors. Such a view has plenty of justification, but Polybius was right to devote his book 6 to an analysis of the Roman system of government, on the grounds that the recovery after the disaster of Cannae, and the eventual Roman victory, and mastery of the Mediterranean region, were owed to structural features. He saw the Roman constitution as a matter of checks and balances, but there was no check on the power of the senate. And it was the steady and implacable refusal of the senate to compromise, even when the outlook was blackest, which meant that the Hannibalic War as a whole represented the high point of collective senatorial control of policy, before the days when it was possible for powerful individuals to exercise quasi-regal domination in the senate, *regnum in senatu*.²⁰ That uncompromising attitude is illustrated by the stern senatorial decision, near the end of book 22, to follow Manlius Torquatus' advice not to ransom the prisoners after Cannae – although many of the senators had relatives among the prisoners, and less drastic solutions had been aired (61.1, 60.3–4). Polybius' analysis in book 6 is aware of the allied military contribution to Rome (6.26.7 and 10, 30.2, 34.1 and 4, 39.13–14, 52.5), but does not seek to explain why so many Italian communities preferred Rome to Carthage (but see n. 23 on Pol. 2.23 and 3.90.14). L.'s class-based explanation for this preference may have been flawed (above): nor was it the only sort of explanation available. For one thing, fear of eventual Roman reprisals must have made Italians of all classes think twice before going over to the Carthaginian side (see again n. 23

²⁰ L. 38.54.6, a charge levelled by the Petillii at the Scipios in 187: neither fairly nor historically, see Briscoe 2008: 191 on the passage. Perhaps L. had in mind later figures like Pompey.

for what Pol. called the awe, κατάπληξις, which the allies felt for Rome). But L. was right to ask, by implication, why it was that the cry *Hannibal ad portas* was not enough to open the gates of more of the Italian cities to the invader, notwithstanding Hannibal's selective blandishments after Trasimene and Cannae.²¹ Too many of their citizens had too much to lose – and fear of Roman retaliation, and perhaps also and more positively admiration for Roman values, culture and tenacity, were in some quarters too great (what Pol. called καταξίωσις, respect: see again n. 23).²² Another sort of fear was relevant: the Italian allies looked to Rome for protection, notably against the Gauls (who were perceived as unspeakably frightful, cf. 46.5n., and some of whom fought for Hannibal), and this perhaps generated something like a sense of unity among the peoples of the peninsula.²³

3 SOURCES

In the second half of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth century a great deal was written, almost entirely in Germany (it was the great age of source criticism (*Quellenkritik*)), about L.'s sources, particularly in the third decade.²⁴ Polybius, who lived from c.200 until after 118 BC,²⁵ related the Hannibalic War in parts of books 3–15 of his history; only books 1–5 survive completely, but the events of the first three years of the war are

²¹ L. 7.5 (Trasimene); Pol 3.85.3 and L. 58.1 (Cannae, and see 58.2n.). As early as L. 21.48.10, Hannibal is said to have wanted a reputation for clemency, *fama clementiae*. See also Pol. 3.77.4.

²² The author of the *Alexandra*, with which this section began, may be an example of such a pro-Roman Greek from south Italy. See Hornblower 2018: 193. Cf. Yarrow 2006 for such attitudes among Greek authors in the late Republic.

²³ Sense of unity: Badian 1958: 144, citing L. 27.9–10 and 27.45.6–7 for the continuing adherence to Rome of eighteen of the thirty Latin colonies despite their difficulties in meeting Roman demands, and for the enthusiasm which greeted Nero on his forced march north to the Metaurus in 207. The loyalty to Rome of Bruttian Petelia was taken to legendary extremes: L. 23.30.1–3. The Gallic factor is stressed by Gabba, *CAH* VIII 208, citing Pol. 2.23.12–14 (11–13 in Loeb ed.). On that passage see also Harris 1984b: 98 (who however interestingly suggests that Pol. implies that this was not the normal allied attitude). See also 13.11n. on *iusto et moderato ... imperio*, based on Pol. 3.90.14: allied awe and respect, κατάπληξις καὶ καταξίωσις, for Rome, a passage cited by Harris 2016: 31–2: Rome's alliance with local elites combined with 'a more general Italian recognition of Rome's energy, resources, and determination'.

²⁴ Ancient historical writers, unlike modern ones, did not normally indicate their sources. L. usually does so only to mention a variant to his main source or to criticise something in it.

²⁵ Cf. *HCPI* n. 1.

contained in book 3 and it is therefore possible to make a detailed comparison with L.'s narrative in books 21 and 22. The following table indicates both the passages of book 22 which correspond to a passage of Pol. and those which do not.

Livy 22	Polybius 3 (except for 6.58)
1.1–4	78.1–5
1.5–20	—
2.1–3.10	78.5–80.5, 82.1–8
3.11–14	—
4.1–9.5	82.9–88.6
9.6–11.5	—
11.5–7	cf. 88.7–8, 96.8–10
12–18	88.9–94.10
19–22	95–99
23–30	100–105
31.1–7	96.10–14
32.1–40.3	—
40.4–49.18	106–117
50–57	—
58.1–61.10 <i>queas</i>	6.58
61.10 <i>quanto</i> –13	118.2–3
61.14–15	—

It can be seen that for a substantial part of the book there is nothing corresponding in Pol.; moreover, in the parts where there is a corresponding passage of Pol., L. adds things which do not appear in Pol., omits things which do and alters Pol. in a significant way: the last two of these categories may reflect changes made, for one reason or another, by L. himself. The first, however, clearly indicates the use of a source other than Pol., as, of course, do the passages which have no correspondence in Pol. The identity of these sources will be considered later; the immediate question is whether L. used Pol. directly or whether the similarities between L. and Pol. are due to L.'s source himself using Pol. or both that source and Pol. deriving from the same earlier source(s).²⁶

For long the prevalent view, particularly in Germany,²⁷ was that L. did not use Pol. directly, even though Nissen (1863) had demonstrated beyond doubt that this was not true for books 31–45: many thought that the differences between L. and Pol. in the third decade were much greater than in

²⁶ For the views of different scholars see Oakley 2019: 154–5 n. 3.

²⁷ Peter 1863 was an exception.

the later books and this was incompatible with direct use. That is no longer accepted, particularly as a result of Levene's strong arguments to the contrary.²⁸ As far as the differences between books 21–30 and 31–45 are concerned, while L. realised the pre-eminence of Pol. for events in the East between 200 and 167, for the Hannibalic War he may not (and with some justification) have thought him so clearly superior to Roman writers; moreover, the differences are not as great as has sometimes been thought: thus, while little survives of Pol.'s account of the outbreak of the Second Macedonian War, what does survive shows marked differences to the beginning of book 31; and L. had no compunction about adding fabrications by earlier writers to Pol.'s report of the peace treaty with Philip V in 196 (33.30).²⁹

In books 31–45, though L. was far from merely translating Pol., the verbal similarities between L.'s Latin and Pol.'s Greek show beyond doubt that the latter was his immediate source, but that is certainly not true of book 22. In later books of the third decade, however, the verbal parallels between L. and what survives of Pol.'s accounts of events at Syracuse and Tarentum, and particularly those of the First Macedonian War and the final campaign in Africa, suffice to refute the view that Pol. was not L.'s direct source in these passages.³⁰

Acceptance of the view that L. was using Pol. directly both justifies and necessitates detailed comparison of L.'s text with the corresponding passage of Pol., for which see section 7 below and the relevant parts of the commentary.

Many previous historians had written about the Hannibalic War. Among Greeks, apart from and preceding Polybius, were Silenus, who accompanied Hannibal to Italy and was used by Coelius (cf. *FRHist* I 261–2), Chaereas and Sosylus, mentioned dismissively by Pol. (3.20.5), Eumachus (*FGrHist* 178) and Xenophon (*FGrHist* 179): there is no reason to think that L. consulted any of these. The first Roman to write history, Q. Fabius Pictor, also wrote in Greek, but there was a Latin version of his work (cf. *FRHist* I 169). L. cites Fabius six times, five in books 1–10 and at 7.4; L. also mentions Fabius' mission to Delphi after the battle of Cannae (57.5, 23.11.1–6). 7.4 constitutes *FRHist* 1F23 and is the latest dateable fragment of Fabius; the likelihood is that his narrative did not continue for long after 217.³¹ It cannot be determined whether L. used the Greek or the Latin version of Fabius.

L. Cincius Alimentus (*FRHist* 2) was a contemporary of Fabius who also wrote in Greek; L. cites him at 21.38.3 (= *FRHist* 2F5), but it is uncertain

²⁸ Levene 2010: 126–63; cf. *FRHist* I 84, Oakley 2019: 157–8 n. 3.

²⁹ Cf. Briscoe 1973: 304–8. ³⁰ See Briscoe 1978, reviewing Tränkle 1977.

³¹ Cf. *FRHist* I 167.

whether he read Cincius at first hand and there is no reason to think that he is L.'s source anywhere else.

FRHist includes twelve writers of history between Cincius and Coelius (P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Africanus, A. Postumius Albinus, consul in 151, the elder Cato, L. Cassius Hemina, C. Acilius, Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, consul in 142, L. Calpurnius Piso, consul in 133, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, perhaps the consul of 129, C. Sempronius Gracchus, C. Fannius, consul in 122, and Vennonius). Of these Gracchus, if his work was a history at all, and Fannius dealt only with recent events. Of the others, only Cato, Acilius and Piso are ever cited by L. Cato's account of his Spanish campaign in 195–194 was used by L. in book 34³² and he refers to book 5 of Cato's *Origines* at 45.25.3. He had probably read Cato's account of the Hannibalic War, but gave preference to Pol. and Coelius, who provided a great deal more detail: Cato's account occupied only parts of books 4 and 5, while Coelius devoted all seven books of his work to the war; moreover Cato's practice of not naming individual commanders³³ will have made his work difficult to use. L. cites Acilius twice, at 25.39.12–13, 16–17 (the passage concerns the achievements of L. Marcius Septimus in Spain) and 35.14.5–12 (= *FRHist* 7F3–4), but on both occasions indicates that his knowledge of Acilius derives from Claudius Quadrigarius (= *FRHist* 24F58, 66). Piso (*FRHist* 9) is cited by L. five times in the first decade and there is no reason to doubt that the citations are first-hand. Thereafter, however, he is mentioned only at 25.39.15 (= *FRHist* 9F34), following the citation of Acilius F3, and Valerius Antias (= *FRHist* 25F27), and it is possible that Piso's version stood in Quadrigarius or Antias.

The most important Latin historian available to L. was L. Coelius Antipater (*FRHist* 15). Perhaps born c.170, he was writing his history around 110. His innovation was to write the history of a limited period; L. cites him on eleven occasions. The two annalistic historians most frequently cited by L. are Quadrigarius (twelve times) and Antias (thirty-five times), both of whom probably wrote in the years following the death of Sulla in 78.³⁴

Since L. rarely cites his source,³⁵ the only passages which can safely be said to derive from a particular writer are those which L. specifically attributes to him or which correspond to a fragment of that writer cited by an author other than L. For the rest, argument can be based only on probability. Quadrigarius and, even more so, Antias were prone to invention and exaggeration, and were criticised by L. accordingly: but Coelius

³² Cf. *FRHist* III 152–3. ³³ Cf. *FRHist* I 213–16.

³⁴ For attempts to date Antias in the 40s BC, see *FRHist* I 294–6.

³⁵ See n. 24.

too was not averse to invention, the inclusion of dreams³⁶ (the fragments contain four), exaggeration and paradoxography.³⁷

What follows lists the source, as far as it can be established, of each part of book 22: 'annalistic source'³⁸ indicates that L. is following one of his Latin sources. For further detail see the Commentary.

- 1.1–4. Hannibal and the Gauls. Pol. 3.78.1–5.
- 1.5–20. Criticism of Flaminius; prodigies and expiations. Annalistic source.
- 2.1–3.10. Carthaginian journey through the marshes of the Arnus, Flaminius at Arretium. Pol. 3.78.5–80.5, 82.1–8.
- 3.11–14. Flaminius and bad omens. Coelius *FRHist* 15F14.
- 4.1–9.5. The battle of Trasimene and its aftermath. Pol. 3.82.9–88.6; 5.8 Coelius *FRHist* 15F14b; 7.6–13, 9.1–5 Coelius.
- 9.6–11.5. Servilius in northern Italy; religious measures at Rome. Annalistic source.
- 11.5–7. Carthaginian naval expedition and Roman counter-measures. Annalistic source; cf. Pol. 3.88.7–8, 96.8–10.
- 12–18. Fabius and Hannibal. Pol. 3.88.9–94.10; ?12.5, 13.2, 15.4–11 annalistic source.
- 19–22. Events in Spain. Pol. 3.95–9 (for 96.10–14 see on 31.1–7) and Coelius.
- 23–30. Fabius and Minucius. Pol. 3.100–5, annalistic source (for 24 see n. there).
- 31.1–7. Servilius' naval expedition. Coelius; cf. Pol. 3.96.10–14.
- 31.8–10. Coelius *FRHist* 15F15.
- 32.1–40.3. Events at Rome. Annalistic source(s). 39 (speech of Fabius) L.'s own invention.
- 40.4–49.18 Cannae. Pol. 3.106–17, annalistic source(s).
- 50–57. Aftermath of Cannae. Annalistic source(s); 50.11 Coelius *FRHist* 15F16; 57.2–3 cf. Cassius Hemina *FRHist* 6F33.
- 58.1–61.10 *queas*. Hannibal's offer to ransom the Roman prisoners. Pol. 6.58, Acilius *FRHist* 7F2.
- 61.10 *quanto*–13. Defections after Cannae. Annalistic source(s); cf. Pol. 3.118.2–3.
- 61.13–15. Expression of thanks to Varro. Coelius *FRHist* 15F17.

³⁶ Cf. n. 215. On dreams in L., see section 8(c).

³⁷ Cf. *FRHist* I 262 (Coelius), 291 (Quadrigarius), 300–3 (Antias).

³⁸ 'Annalistic' is a term used to refer to the fact that they wrote *annales*, histories arranged year by year (though Pol. did so too, using Olympiad years).

On five occasions L. refers critically to his sources: 7.3–4, on other casualty figures for Trasimene, saying that he is following Fabius Pictor and that some writers gave figures many times as great; 31.8–11, arguing against Coelius and others that Fabius was elected *pro dictatore*, not as dictator; 36.1–5, reporting three different accounts of the size of the Roman army at Cannae; 52.6, saying that certain writers say that Hannibal searched for and buried the body of Paullus; 61.5–10, giving a variant version of what he had said at 58.8, concerning the envoy who had attempted to evade his oath to return to Hannibal if the senate refused to ransom the Roman prisoners, and concluding that it was easier to be surprised that writers could disagree so much than to discern the truth.

4 STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS: THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF BOOK 22 AND ITS PLACE IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE THIRD DECADE

(a) *The Internal Structure of Book 22*

To put it at its simplest, the narrative of book 22 has twin peaks, the battles of Trasimene (4–7) and Cannae (40–50.3): everything else is either preparatory or consequential. L.'s focus is almost entirely on Italy and very occasionally Sicily, apart from 19–22, detailed coverage of events in Spain.³⁹ Similarly Thucydides' most dramatic and rhetorically polished book, the seventh, is unique among the eight in concentrating almost entirely on one theatre only, the disastrous Athenian campaigning in Sicily, apart from the brief ch. 9 on Amphipolis. As for the longer speeches in book 22, those of Minucius in 14 and of Fabius in 39 balance each other, an attack on and defence of Fabian policy; the book is brought near its close by a pair of speeches in 59–60 about whether or not to ransom the prisoners taken at Cannae.⁴⁰

So warfare dominates. But book 22 is far from being monotonous military history. In between the two battles, the confrontation-avoiding Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (*Cunctator*) dominates the Roman side of the narrative. This includes his cautious tracking of Hannibal (12–18) and his struggle with and eventual taming of the initially hostile and insubordinate

³⁹ The campaigning and diplomacy in Spain goes well for the Romans, and this provides the (expected Roman) reader or hearer with some relief from the dismal narration of military failures in Italy. It also looks forward thematically to Scipio Africanus' decisive Spanish victories at Baecula and Ilipa a decade or so later in the war (section 2(d)); cf. also below n. 55. Contrast, however, Servilius' failure in Africa, 31.1–7.

⁴⁰ See further section 7 p. 45.

Master of the Horse Minucius (23–30), and culminates in his long speech of warning to the consul Paullus, one of the commanders at Cannae (39). This important and lengthy speech is partly a retarding device before the Cannae narrative (see section 7 p. 42). But it also forms a kind of suspension bridge between the peaks because it anticipates Cannae in obvious ways, but also looks back to Trasimene (explicitly 39.8) and other episodes from earlier in the book (39.16, Gereonium, cf. 23–24). At 33–35, the unusual length of the account of the elections for 216 is partly⁴¹ to be explained by their importance for the outcome of the coming battle of Cannae: the election to the consulship of the impetuous Varro in particular will be crucial. The narrative of the battle and its aftermath each take up about ten chapters (40–50.3, 50.4–61), but this is misleading⁴² because the actual narrative of the battle and its preliminaries fills only about thirteen OCT pages, the aftermath fills seventeen, including two long speeches near the end, part of a senatorial debate about the ransoming or not of the prisoners. The finale of 61 and of the whole book gives expression to optimism of sorts, as the Romans thank the defeated consul Varro for not despairing of the *res publica*. For the forward-looking implications of this surprising closure, see below, section 7(f).

The two battle-scenes themselves are not short of drama, particularly after L. has embellished what he found in Pol.: below, section 7(b) and (d). But the months between the battles, especially those covered by the narrative at 12–18, posed a problem for L. because Fabius' policy was to refuse battle: section 7(c). This policy largely prevailed – apart from the minor disaster incurred by the disobedience of Hostilius Mancinus at 15.4–9, and the skirmish at 18.1–4 – and the story of its execution risked being tedious. But L. varies the narrative by two colourful elaborations positioned at carefully managed intervals: Minucius' long and lively speech at 14.4–14, which ranges in time from the Gallic sack of 386 to the Saguntum episode which began the Hannibalic War itself; and the report of Hannibal's 'flaming oxen' stratagem at 16.5–17.8, an anecdote which may ultimately owe a partial debt to Greek poetry (17.5n.). Some of these smaller set-pieces could have formed units of recitation (for the persistence of such recitations of historical works down to and including the Roman period, see 16.8n.). Indeed, that might be true of book 22 as a whole; see the conclusion to (b) below.

⁴¹ It is also due to the fact that the elections were unusually complicated, and that a great detail of detail was available to L. (perhaps deriving from Fabius Pictor). For other lengthy (but less complex) accounts, cf. 35.10.1–9, 39.32.5–13.

⁴² The reason that the number of chapters is misleading is that chapters are of very unequal length; the chapter nos. were the invention of Gruter in 1607–8 (see Briscoe 2018: 5).

Finally, something should be said about L.'s distribution of attention in book 22 generally, and about his decisions as to whether or not to elaborate or on the other hand to compress particular episodes. It will be seen (section 7(*b-d*)) that he often amplifies Pol., but sometimes (as in the Abelux episode) reduces him. Goodyear (1972–81: I 29–30) felt able to damn Tacitus for greater elaboration than 'seems to be required by the intrinsic importance of what is narrated' (meaning historical importance). He instanced the account of the mutinies in AD 14 and the German campaigns of AD 15; his explanation was that Tacitus wanted to use all his resources of style on congenially dramatic topics. This is a subjective and presumptuous proceeding. But in any case it cannot be said that L. fails the test of historical importance, in book 22 at least. The two great defeats of 217 and 216 were historically serious enough to justify dramatic narrative elaboration, and the individual variations in narrative pace are effectively managed (see 40.4–50.3n. for the change in narrative pace which allowed the close-up treatment of Paullus' end). The prodigies in the first chapter of the book are narrated at remarkable length, to be sure; but such religious material is no longer judged historically unimportant, as it was by implication as recently as 1976, when the Penguin translation of books 31–45, *Rome and the Mediterranean*, often omitted prodigy lists (e.g. those at 31.12.5–8, 35.9.1–4 or 35.21.2–6); and L.'s emphasis on religion at the start of the book, and on the expiation rituals which are pointedly not said to have calmed nerves, serves both to underline the impiety of Flaminius and to create an atmosphere of menace before Trasimene: see section 7(*b*). The unusual length of the account of the elections for 216 (33–35) was explained above. L. devoted as much space to the aftermath of Cannae as to the battle itself (see section 7(*d*), and cf. Oakley 2019: 169: Cannae itself not the climax of the narrative). This made good narrative sense: the Roman recovery was impressive and the curative measures taken were immediate and drastic (see esp. 57); the 'ransom debate' near the book's end (59–60) occupies many pages in modern editions; it serves to illustrate unflinching Roman determination. At 54.8 L. says he will not attempt to narrate the reaction at Rome to the Cannae catastrophe. Perhaps he did not feel able to improve on 7 (the account of panic after Trasimene), or else he did not wish to detract from what he is about to say at 54.10–11 about Roman courage, *animus* and endurance (so Oakley 2019: 171). Occasionally a small episode receives a surprising amount of coverage; an example is the defeat of Hostilius Mancinus at 15; a reason for this in terms of second-century BC politics will be suggested at (*b*) below and in the commentary. Similarly, L.'s marked interest in Lentulus, the interlocutor of the dying consul Paullus, may be partly due to the political role this man played much later, in the immediate sequel to Zama (49.6n.).

(b) Book 22 in the Structure of the Third Decade

For L.'s *History* as a whole, and the signs of, and arguments for, an organisation by decades and pentads for at least part of the work, see section 1 above. L. took special trouble over the Hannibalic war narrative, which is 'strongly unified in the terms expected by ancient aesthetic theory'.⁴³ There is retrospective pride at 31.1.1, cf. n. 138. The decadic and pentadic theory works exceptionally well for the third decade. Books 21–30 form a tightly organised monograph, albeit with plentiful allusions backwards (*analepses*), especially in the *exempla* which enliven the speeches.⁴⁴ (L.'s regular though not invariable numbering of the years of the war, at least from the middle of book 23 onwards, are evidence of the monograph status of the third decade; on this see (c) below.) Specific forward allusions (*prolepses*) beyond the end of the war in 201 are scarcer,⁴⁵ but sometimes a character or episode receives a degree of attention which makes better sense in the light of much later or even contemporary events.⁴⁶ An example in book 22 is the Hostilius Mancinus episode (above): no fewer than three later members of this unfortunate family were prominent in L.'s account of the second century (15.4n.), and this may help to explain L.'s otherwise puzzlingly full coverage of a minor defeat in 217. Again, L.'s general observations can sometimes look forward a long distance in time. At 12.12, he disapproves of men who – like Minucius – succeed in their careers by disparaging their superiors, and he adds that this bad practice has grown, *pessima ars ... crevit*. He presumably has at least one definite later individual in mind, and Marius at the end of the second century is the obvious candidate: section 7(b).

It is true that there is no hard break between books 25 and 26, the two pentads of the third decade, if 'hard break' is taken in the strong sense of a formal authorial introduction (cf. above, p. 2). But there is certainly a thematic split between these pentads: very roughly, things go very badly

⁴³ Levene 2010: 15. ⁴⁴ Chaplin 2000. See further section 7(h) below.

⁴⁵ A straightforward example, external to book 22: Sulla and Pompey are named with their *cognomina* (Felix, Magnus) at the very end of the decade (30.45.6, in connection with Scipio's *cognomen* Africanus, which was already more briefly mentioned at 21.46.8; a nice example of 'the technique of increasing precision', for which see n. 141). Likewise, 30.40.6 looks forward to the next decade and the war against Philip V: see n. 138.

⁴⁶ The great exponent of this binocular approach to the Roman historians (especially Tacitus and Sallust) was Syme. He applied it to Livy's third decade generally in his review of Hoffmann 1942 (Syme 1979b [1945]), but this does not have much to say about book 22 specifically. Levene 2010: 12 sees in 30.43–44 hints at the eventual destruction of Carthage in 146 BC, and even the decline of Rome itself.

for the Romans in most of the first but get slowly better in the course of the second.⁴⁷

There is another aspect to the pentadic structure. This aspect has been called the ‘architectonic’ method,⁴⁸ by which is meant that symmetry and balance are achieved by the positioning of similar episodes at the same point in the two pentads.⁴⁹ The balance can be an equipoise of like and like, or it can be a counterpoise of opposites, so that a positive Roman outcome in one pentad can correspond to a negative in the other pentad and conversely. In the third decade, this means that books 22 and 27, the second book of each pentad, are in many respects a matching pair, perhaps the clearest such a book-pair in the decade. The least controversial example of this – because it is made explicit by L. himself (27.49.5) – is the redress of the Romans’ defeat at Cannae at the hands of Hannibal by their victory over his brother Hasdrubal at the Metaurus river.⁵⁰ It is a corollary of this that L. narrates in particular detail the prodigies and

⁴⁷ See Stadter 1972: 290 [2009: 94–5]; Luce 1977: 6 and esp. 27–8; Kraus 1997: 59–60; Levene 2010: 15–16 (noting that book 25 ends with a year-end, like books 21 and 29; but he regards 25 and 26 together as the ‘central pivot’). The consensus of these discussions is that the tide begins to turn for Roman fortunes (that particular metaphor is Stadter’s) with the Roman recovery of Capua and the failure of Hannibal’s march on Rome (26.10.3–11.8), soon after, rather than precisely at, the start of book 26. In any case, the Roman gloom of book 25 is mitigated by the extended narrative of an important development already begun in book 24, Marcellus’ siege of Syracuse and its capture by the end of book 25 (Kraus). Certainly Capua was ‘a turning-point’ (Stadter again). But ‘a’ not ‘the’ is important. Historians, ancient and modern, love to identify dramatic turning- or tipping-points, and this simplification can be specially crude in a war fought in more than one theatre. Thus Thucydides, and modern historians who take their cue from him, have exaggerated the extent to which the Athenian surprise success at Pylos and Sphacteria in 425, half way through the Archidamian War of 431–421, represented a real historical ‘hinge’.

⁴⁸ Luce 1977: 27.

⁴⁹ This resembles in some ways the organisation of the *Iliad*, except that there the structure works more like a reflection in a mirror: books 1 and 24 both narrate acts of supplication by old men, Chryses and Priam, books 2 and 23 correspond to each other, as do 3 and 22, and so on, albeit less compellingly as the centre is approached. See Richardson 1993: 5–14. With this approach, compare Levene 2010: 16–17: L.’s books 21 and 30, the first and last books of the decade, contain detailed parallels. In Thucydides, the opening pages of book 6 echo those of book 1 (e.g. ‘truest cause’, 1. 23.6 = 6.6.1), which might mean that he planned a ten-book work in two pentads; or at least – since the eight-book division may not be his – that he saw 415 as a new beginning. Tacitus worked with answering hexads and triads, and so perhaps did Pol.

⁵⁰ See Levene 2010: 18, who adds more subtly that both books also contain ‘reverses of the dominant side’: Fabius scores some successes against Hannibal in book 22, and Hannibal traps and kills Marcellus in book 27.

exceptionally long expiation rituals of 207 (27.37),⁵¹ just as the prodigies and rituals early in book 22 are recorded very fully: below, section 8(b).

So far, so convincing, but a sceptic might complain that the architectonic theory assumes an implausible degree of forward planning on L.'s part. One reply to this is that some of L.'s choices, when he came to write book 27 and had the architecture of the whole decade more firmly in his head, might have been conditioned by what he had already written in book 22. Thus book 27 ends with Claudius Nero flinging the 'carefully' preserved head of Hasdrubal before his brother Hannibal's camp (27.51.11). This behaviour contrasts unfavourably with that of Hannibal after Trasimene, who searched 'carefully' for the body of Flaminius, so as to give it proper burial (see 7.5 and n.). It is possible that the repetition of *cum cura*, to describe two very different sorts of 'care', unobtrusively but neatly points up the parallel. But the repetition, at least, if not the macabre echo as a whole, could have occurred to L. while composing book 27 not book 22.

Fabius' speech of warning to Paullus at 39 has a partial parallel in book 27, where Fabius again urges caution on an already cautious commander, M. Livius Salinator (27.40.8–9; see 38.13–39.22n.).⁵²

In his reply to Fabius in indirect speech, Paullus alludes (40.3, *se ... effugisse*) to his narrow escape from conviction in the courts during his previous consulship (35.3n.); on that occasion, his fellow-consul M. Livius Salinator was convicted. This episode must have been narrated in book 20, outside L.'s surviving text, which resumes with book 21 (where Livius is mentioned only at 21.18.1). But it acquires renewed importance in book 27, as the reason for the enduring rancour felt by Livius in the period immediately before the consular elections for 207 and the Metaurus campaign (see esp. 27.34.3–5): Salinator's then colleague Claudius Nero had testified against him at the trial.

With 44.6, the complaint that Hannibal occupied Italy 'as if by right of possession', compare 27.21.2 (criticism at Rome of sluggish war policy): 'this is the tenth year in which Hannibal has held Italy as his *prouincia*'.⁵³

These parallels between books 22 and 27 are, with the exception of L.'s own remark about Cannae and the Metaurus, conjectural and vulnerable

⁵¹ On these, see Rosenberger 2007: 296–7.

⁵² See however Levene 2010: 191–2: there are differences as well as similarities: Livius actually oscillates between caution and rashness.

⁵³ Some other, less striking and significant, parallels: with 15.10 (Hostilius gallops to his death when the battle is lost), cf. Hasdrubal at 27.49.4; with 18.9, *per ludificationem hostis*, cf. 27.46.6, *ludificatus hostem*; with 42.1, *ubi inluxit*, cf. 27.42.11; with 59.16, *suspensi ac solliciti*, cf. 27.50.6, *sollicitae ac suspensae ciuitati*.

to a greater or less degree.⁵⁴ That there is interaction between book 22 and the immediately adjacent books is less disputable and is unsurprising. Book 21 opens with the Saguntum affair and Hannibal's crossing of the Pyrenees and Alps, and then narrates Hannibal's defeats of the Romans at the rivers Ticinus and Trebia (for all this see section 2). The Ticinus reverse enables L. to mention that the young P. Cornelius Scipio, who saved his like-named father the consul in the course of the fighting, would one day take the *cognomen* Africanus from his victory over Hannibal, i.e. at Zama in north Africa (21.46.8, amplified by ring composition in the final sentences of the whole third decade, 30.45.6–7). This balances L.'s earlier introduction of the child Hannibal (above, n. 16). It also points forward to the eventual outcome of the war. Spanish successes won by young Scipio's uncle Cn. Cornelius Scipio (21.60–1) similarly prepare the reader for the importance, for that outcome, of Scipionic campaigning in Spain. But the immediate prospect is very different: the book closes with the bad omens surrounding the election to the consulship of the ill-fated C. Flaminius (21.62–3). The four Roman defeats in books 21 and 22 are of escalating seriousness: Ticinus, Trebia, Trasimene, Cannae. Prodigies are listed both at the end of 21 and the opening of 22.

The thematic flow between books 22 and 23 is even clearer. The importance of the surrender of Capua was noticed above. The result of Fabius Pictor's mission to Delphi (for which see 57.6) is reported at 23.11.1–6; see section 8(c). The very first chapter of book 22 (1.12) contains a prodigy at Capua – but only among many other prodigies in this chapter, from various locations in Italy. The most politically significant item of Capuan news is at 13, the story of the three Campanian cavalry from Capua who had fought on the Roman side and been taken prisoner, and now make overtures to Hannibal. The loyalty to Rome of the Campanian cavalry generally is a theme which recurs importantly at 23.4.8 (see 13.2n.).

Near the start of book 23, Hannibal makes an attempt to take Naples, in order to secure for himself a maritime city (23.1.5, cf. section 2(d) above), and so ensure the seaborne conveyance of reinforcements from Carthage. The reader has already been introduced to the important

⁵⁴ Scepticism about forward planning by L. was answered above. Another line of attack is to point to parallels between book 22 and books other than 27. Thus Levene 2010: 20–1 observes that the debates over strategy in book 22 between Fabius, Minucius, Varro and Paullus have their most obvious counterpart in the debate between Scipio and Fabius in book 28. (By similar reasoning he criticises the arguments for other alleged 'pairs' of books in the third decade.) This is a fair point, but – to repeat – the case for the pairing of books 22 and 27 derives some of its strength from their identical position in their respective pentads.

theme of Neapolitan friendship towards Rome in book 22: see 32.4–9 for their magnificent offers of golden gifts.

In the next chapter of book 22 (33.3) Roman *legati* are sent to king Philip V of Macedon to demand the surrender of Demetrius of Pharos. In book 23 (chs. 33–4), L. reports the treaty between Philip and Hannibal, a bad error of judgment by the king. There is a causal thread running from here to the proconsul T. Quinctius Flamininus' defeat of Philip at Cynoscephalae in 197 BC, as narrated in book 33.

Capua, Naples and Philip are all mentioned in book 22 for the first time in the decade.⁵⁵ All of the book 22 passages mentioned above make perfectly good sense on their own and would not mystify a reader.⁵⁶ But each of the reports arguably gains significance in light of the more serious developments which follow in the next book.

All that said, it remains true that the whole of book 22, a dramatic and gripping narrative, is an attractive candidate for oral recitation in whole or in part: see (a) above. The book as a whole, like the three individual passages just discussed, is a self-contained monograph, and intelligible on its own terms.

(c) *The Third Decade as Monograph: Year-Breaks and Numbering of War-Years*

One aspect of book 22 as monograph remains to be considered.⁵⁷ In book 23, L. says that after the end of the third year of the Punic War, *circumacto tertio anno Punici belli*, Sempronius entered his consulship (for 215) on the Ides of March (23.30.18). The first half of this sentence (but not the second) resembles the Thucydidean way of putting it: 'so ended the winter and the [x]th year of the war which Th. recorded'.⁵⁸ But in book 22, L. does not, at 34.1 or thereabouts, say 'the third year of the Punic war

⁵⁵ Hiero II of Syracuse features at 37, and there will be much about Syracuse in books 24 and 25. But Hiero has already featured at 21.49.3. Similarly, the Spanish campaigning in 19–22 not only provides relief from Italian failures but foreshadows the importance of Spain for the outcome of the whole war (see n. 39). But the war began in book 21 with the fate of a Spanish city, Saguntum (mentioned three times in ch. 22 of book 22). For a specific mention of the river Ebro, a *casus belli*, see 19.5.

⁵⁶ Contrast Hdt. 1.61.1: the Athenian Alcmeonids said, in passing, to be under a curse. The origin of the curse is not explained until 5.71, so that the reader or hearer who did not already know about it might be puzzled.

⁵⁷ This sub-section is not primarily concerned with the annalistic system of dating by consuls, for which see Rich 2009, who does not address the feature treated here. For the term 'annalistic' see n. 38.

⁵⁸ See n. 69. For the *circumacto ... anno* formula, cf. 9.22.1 with Oakley 2005a: 286.

(or ‘of the second Punic war’) now *began*. On the other hand, the matter is complicated by the transition formula earlier in book 22 (23.1), where L. says – not at the turn of the year – that the Spanish operations he has just narrated took place ‘in the summer of the second year of the Punic War’; this formula, too, is reminiscent of Thucydides, who divided his war-years into campaigning seasons, summers and winters (5.20.3). So 23.30.18 is not quite the first place where a war-year is numbered at all (apart from 23.1, there is nothing else of the sort in either of books 21 or 22). In the later books of the third decade, L. often uses year-breaks in a non-Thucydidean fashion to indicate the *start* of the war-year.⁵⁹ In a way, L. does this at 23.30.18 too, because the second half of the sentence is inceptive not terminal: he might just as well have said ‘in the fourth year of the (Second) Punic War, Sempronius entered ...’ etc. (cf. 24.9.7 *quinto anno secundi Punici belli*, then the names of the incoming consuls and what they did). Five years running (214 to 209) are not registered in this way, and nor is 207;⁶⁰ but where L. does number the years of the war at a year-break,⁶¹ he always combines them with the consuls of the year. It may be that by using *both* systems, L. implicitly but deliberately answers Th.’s valid objection at 5.20 to a magistrates-only system. Just once, L. starts a new book (book 30) with the double formula.

The system appears to have been L.’s own contribution. (Coelius wrote a monograph on the war, but none of the testimonia or fragments suggest that he operated with numbered war-years, though of course he may have

⁵⁹ L. gives war-year numbers at year-breaks as follows: 23.30.18 (transition 216/215, start of year 4); 24.9.7 (215/214, year 5); 27.22.1 (209/208, year 11); 28.10.8 (207/206, year 13); 28.38.12 (206/205, year 14); 29.13.1 (205/204, year 15); 30.1.1 (204/203, year 16).

At 28.16.14 (Spanish campaigning), L. seems to say that 205 was year 14, thus anticipating 28.38.12 and making both 206 and 205 into year 14. But the text of the earlier passage may well be faulty: read *tertio decimo* not *quarto decimo*. In Roman numerals (regularly used for ordinals) *xiii* could easily be corrupted to *xiiii* (that, not *xiv*, would have been used). See Levene 2010: 54 and n. 133, who however prefers the explanation that the mistake is that of L., who reproduced material from different sources. It is probably better to assume an error by a copyist.

At 34.42.3, L. says that both consuls for 194, Scipio Africanus and Sempronius Longus, were sons of men who had been consuls ‘in the first year of the Second Punic War’ (218). He had not, in book 21, registered the first year in this way, see next n.

⁶⁰ The following transitions have no war-year number: 219/218 (start of year 1) at about 21.15; 218/217 (year 2) at the end of book 21; 217/216 (year 3) at about 33.12; 214/213 (year 6) at about 24.43 or 44; 213/212 (year 7) at 25.3.1; 212/211 (year 8) at 26.1.1; 211/210 (year 9) at 26.26.5; 210/209 (year 10) at 27.7.7; 208/207 (year 12) at 27.36.10; 203/202 at 30.27.1 (year 17); 202/201 (year 18?) at 30.40.5.

⁶¹ That is, leaving 23.1 (summer of the second year) out of account.

done so. War-years are certainly not taken over from Pol., who uses his own Olympiad chronology throughout. Fabius Pictor probably did not live to see the war's end: on present evidence, he mentioned nothing later than Trasimene.) If so, this strengthens the notion that L. was thinking of the third decade as a unit, a war-monograph, like that of Thucydides.⁶² He does nothing similar for the Samnite Wars in the first decade, nor for any of the wars he relates in books 31–45, though there is some stress on the length of the Third Macedonian War, which proved much more difficult than the senate had expected.⁶³

The fact that war-years are more frequently numbered in the latter years of the Hannibalic war may be a reflection, deliberate or not, of the fact that the longer the war went on, the more striking its length became, not just to L., but to the Romans of the time: 'the xth year of this war; will it ever end?' one can imagine them saying (cf. Coelius *FRHist* 15F30). And no doubt the presence of Hannibal on Italian soil, summer and winter, for sixteen years, became a powerful part of the collective memory.

This line of explanation is attractive. One might, however, have expected him to be more consistent. It is hard to see why, after registering the end of the summer of the second year of the war, then the end of the third year and in effect the start of the fourth, and then explicitly the start of the fifth, L. should have left a gap in numbering for six years (five of them consecutive) in the middle of the war, before resuming the war-years system for four years near the end of the war (years 13–16 inclusive). Some individual anomalies are more or less explicable,⁶⁴ but the inconsistency cannot be got rid of entirely.

⁶² But the pioneer may have been Herodotus in his Ionian Revolt narrative. See 6.18 for the fall of Miletus 'in the sixth year from the rebellion of Aristagoras'. Diodorus' source for the Third Sacred War (mid fourth century) starts by saying it lasted nine years (16.23.1), but does not number the years thereafter. Diod. covered the Hannibalic War in books 26–27, but the fragments do not suggest that he numbered its years.

⁶³ Cf. 44.17.1, 45.9.2 (the latter passage speaks of 'four years of uninterrupted warfare').

The *periochae* of books 109–16 have, unusually, sub-titles saying that they are from the first to the eighth book of the civil war (e.g. *EX LIBRO CVIII qui est civili belli primus*), but these are probably not authorial.

⁶⁴ (i) The beginning of the first year of the war proper, i.e. the transition 219/218, was beset by chronological confusion, as L. acknowledges at 21.15, and this may have precluded a clean beginning. (ii) The transition 208/207 was unusual because both consuls had been killed, so the consuls-designate Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero acted instead. (iii) L. says *principio insequentis anni* (not 'at the start of the seventeenth year of the war', which it was) at the change to the momentous year of Zama, 202 (30.27.1); perhaps he was thrown off his stride by what he had said at 30.26.1 about events running on into the next year. (iv) Finally,

It is now possible to return to book 22 and the puzzle of the absence of a formula about the start of the third year of the war at 33.12 or 34.1. One line of explanation would run like this: because of the unusual circumstances of the elections for 216, the year break occurs in the middle of the account of the elections (for L.'s account as straddling the year break, see section 5 p. 26), and L. could not possibly have said *ad interregnum res rediit; hic finis erat secundi anni Punici belli*.⁶⁵ Or, more simply, it may be that, because the elections for 216 – the equally momentous year of Cannae – were so fiercely disputed, L. felt it would be dull, inappropriate and anti-climactic to say (presumably at about 36) that 'the third year of the Punic war now began, with Varro and Paullus as consuls'. (But he has already fixed in the reader's mind the realisation that the second year was in progress: see above for the transition formula at 23.1 about the end of Spanish operations in the summer of the second year of the war.) This explanation resembles that offered above (n. 64) for the transition 208/207, in the unusual circumstances preceding the battle of the Metaurus.⁶⁶ But to the obvious larger question, 'why start numbering year-breaks at the start of the fourth year and no earlier?', there is no obvious answer. Perhaps, after the dramas of the first two books of the decade, L. wanted to signify that the combatants were settling down for a long haul. This explanation, and indeed any other, could be true even if L. took the year-numbers from someone else. After all, what to do with them, and when, was his decision. The irregularities of the first two mentions of war-years (23.1, the 'second year' registered but not at a year-break, and 23.30.18, the year-break signalled by the end of one year rather than, as would become usual later in the decade, by the beginning of the next) may be indications that it was not only the combatants but L. himself who was settling down – into a recording rhythm. If he was innovating and experimenting, it is not a surprise that he took time to develop a routine.

In conclusion: gaps and anomalies notwithstanding – and not all are easily explicable – it remains true and important that in his third decade⁶⁷

at 30.40.6 (202/1), where there is no war-year number, L. presumably regarded the war as over, although the peace treaty had not yet been signed. At 30.44.2, L. says that the war ended in the seventeenth year, 201. But that was the eighteenth year of the war; so perhaps he meant that it ended in the seventeenth year after it began.

⁶⁵ Or perhaps *secundi anni secundi Punici belli*, as in the longer version of the war-formula at 24.9.7.

⁶⁶ But it would be far-fetched to treat this similarity as a further parallel between books 22 and 27, Cannae and the Metaurus (cf. section 4(b)).

⁶⁷ That is, ignoring the retrospective 34.42.3.

L. should on no fewer than nine⁶⁸ occasions in seventeen years have numbered the years of the Second Punic War. He thus signalled both its unity⁶⁹ and its length.

5 CHRONOLOGY⁷⁰

The Republican calendar (i.e. before the reform of Caesar) was based on a year of 355 days. The months (to use the modern names) of March, May, July and October had 31 days, January, April, June, August, September, November and December 29, and February 28. To keep the calendar in line with the seasons, 22 or 23 days were added every other year (normally in ‘even-numbered’ BC years), by means of an intercalary month of 27 days, inserted after either 22 or 23 February, that month losing its final four or five days.

At 37.4.4 L. says that a solar eclipse occurred on 11 July 190; the retrojected Julian⁷¹ date is 14 March: thus the Roman calendar at that time was running nearly four months ahead. In 203, however, it can be shown that the calendar was far less ahead: at 30.11–12 L. describes Masinissa’s defeat of Syphax, which Ovid (*Fasti* 6.769) dates to 22 June and the chronological indications given by Pol. (14.1–9) and L. show that it cannot have occurred before late May.⁷² The situation in 190 was the result of failure to intercalate regularly since 203,⁷³ and it is now generally agreed

⁶⁸ That is, including 22.23.1 and 28.16.14 (war-years registered, but not at the turn of a year) in the total. Otherwise, the total is seven. Those two anomalous passages are both about Spain, but differ from each other in another respect: that in book 22 is the only place where the second year of the war is signalled, whereas 28.16.14 repeats information already given earlier (see n. 59 for the textual problem).

⁶⁹ That is, its literary unity, the unity of its narration. L. did not need to prove that the actual war was a unity. In this he was unlike his possible and partial model Thucydides, who regarded the years of uneasy peace after 421 BC as part of the war, so that there is a polemical aspect to his unfailing registration of numbers of war-years right up to 8.60.3 – the twentieth year of the war, as he says. (See 5.26 for his firm view of the unity of the twenty-seven-year war, which did not stop him occasionally speaking of its phases as πόλεμοι; see Hornblower 2011: 308–9 n. 65.) He would no doubt have continued numbering war-years in the same way after book 8, if he had finished his *History*.

⁷⁰ See Michels 1967; Marchetti 1973; Derow 2015: 209–39; Briscoe 1981: 17–26; 2008: 17; 2012a: 5–8. Despite its title Feeney 2007a does not discuss Caesar’s reform in detail.

⁷¹ The term normally used of retrojected dates; they are in fact Gregorian. Hereafter a date followed by ‘(Jul.)’ indicates a Julian date.

⁷² Marchetti 1973: 478–80; Briscoe 1981: 19, criticising Derow 2015: 222–4.

⁷³ The *pontifices* were responsible for ensuring that intercalation took place regularly; cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2.29, Suet. *Iul.* 40.

that there were only two intercalations between 203 and 190, one in 190 itself, following the *lex Acilia de intercalando*, passed by M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul in 191; the other was probably in 193/2.⁷⁴

In 203 the calendar was about a month ahead of the Julian date and there is no reason to think that intercalation had not been taking place regularly since the beginning of the war.⁷⁵ The following discussion will serve both to confirm this conclusion and to establish the detailed chronology of the events of 217 and 216.

217

At 1.1 L. says that Hannibal left his winter quarters *cum uer appetebat* ('when spring was approaching') and at 1.4 that this was earlier than usual. That suggests a date in late March.⁷⁶ L. (1.4) synchronises this (*per idem tempus*; cf. 2.1, where Hannibal embarks on his march through the Arno marshes while Servilius is dealing with the expiation of the prodigies and the levy) with the beginning of the consular year on the Ides of March; but that equates to Julian 1 February (L. was evidently unaware of or had forgotten the dislocation of the calendar). The list of prodigies includes (1.9) a report from Arpi of the sun fighting with the moon, clearly a reference to a solar eclipse, which was visible in Italy on 17 February (Jul.): no difficulty is caused by a prodigy report reaching Rome two to three weeks after the beginning of the consular year. By the same token the date of the eclipse confirms that 217 was not an intercalary year, since otherwise the report would have reached Rome well before Flaminius had left for Ariminum.⁷⁷

Ovid dates the battle of Trasimene to June 20 = 9 May Jul., a date which coheres with the early morning mist or fog which played such an

⁷⁴ Marchetti 1973: 477 (though at 495 he appears to say that it was in 194/3; Derow (2015: 223 n. 6, 225) wrongly took him to mean 195/4), Briscoe 1981: 21–4; Derow 2015: 228–9 prefers 203/2.

⁷⁵ For a table of calendar equations from 218 to 191 see Derow 2015: 214–15; the Julian dates he gives are in fact one or two days too late, because he wrongly took the retrojected leap years in this period to be 215, 211, 207, 203, 199, 195 and 191, when they were in fact 217, 213, 209, 205, 197 and 193 ('century' years, i.e. 101, 201 etc. BC are leap years only if the first digit is divisible by four). So too Marchetti (1973: 477), who, in addition, forgot that there is no year 0 between 1 BC and AD 1. Cf. *HCP* III: vi, A. Erskine and J. Crawley Quinn ap. Derow 2015: 238. To avoid confusion, however, the Julian dates given both here and in the commentary are those to be found in Derow's tables.

⁷⁶ Cf. Derow 2015: 231, who says 'early April at the latest'; in northern Italy early April can be surprisingly chilly.

⁷⁷ Some of the reports may have been of events, true or alleged, a little before the Ides of March. For Ariminum see p. 161.

important part in the outcome (cf. 4.1–7.5n.). Fabius will have begun his dictatorship a week or so after the battle and it will have expired around 11 November. The events narrated in 12–18 and 23–30, dominated by the disputes between Fabius and his *magister equitum*, M. Minucius Rufus, occupied the six months of the dictatorship. The two latter sections are separated by an account of events in Spain, dated to the summer of 217 (cf. 19.1, 22.1, 23.1).

Servilius' raid on Africa (31.1–7; the rest of the chapter is a digression on Fabius' title) is said to have taken place during the course of the events narrated in 23–30 and cannot be dated more precisely.

The consuls continued Fabius' strategy (p. 5 and section 9) for what remained of autumn, having prepared their winter quarters earlier than usual (31.7, 32.1–2). An embassy from Naples (32.4–8) is dated to early winter (late November–December 217). The arrest and punishment of a Carthaginian spy and twenty-five slaves accused of conspiracy (33.1–2) are said to have occurred *per eosdem dies* as the Neapolitan embassy: such synchronisms, called 'autoschediasms' by De Sanctis, are suspect and it is likely that neither L. nor his source had any good evidence for them.⁷⁸

In 33.3–7 L. reports embassies to Philip V of Macedon, Liguria and Pinnes of Illyria. As elsewhere with items briefly narrated at the end of a year, some or all probably occurred earlier in the year; cf. Levene 1993: 99–101.

217–216

Since the elections for the consuls and praetors of 216 did not finally take place until the beginning of that year, L.'s account (33.9–35.7) straddles the year break (section 4 p. 23). Varro was elected under the presidency of the second *interrex*, whose first day of office was March 20 = 18 February (216 was an intercalary year), but none of the patrician candidates secured a majority and Varro presided over the election of Paullus.

216

The elections are followed by a decision to increase the size of the Roman forces (36.1–5; cf. pp. 82 and 84), the expiation of prodigies (36.6–8), and embassies from Paestum and Hiero of Syracuse. The completion of the levy is followed by a change in the taking of the military oath (38.1–5), the *contiones* of Varro and Paullus (39.8–23, see *OCD*⁴ *contio*), Fabius'

⁷⁸ Cf. Briscoe 2008: 18 n. 49.

exhortation to Paullus (39) and the latter's response (40.1–3). The consuls then leave Rome and the narrative of the battle of Cannae follows (40.4–50.3; for the day-by-day chronology, see the Commentary).

Claudius Quadrigarius (*FRHist* 24F53) dated the battle to 2 August = 1 July Jul. and there is no reason to reject this date.⁷⁹ It follows that the interval between the election of Varro and Paullus and the battle is far longer than L.'s narrative implies (Pol. 3.107.6 says that the Roman forces in Apulia (i.e. Servilius Geminus; Atilius had returned to Rome; cf. 40.6) sent constant messages to Rome asking what they should do after Hannibal captured their supply base at Cannae). L., moreover, places the arrival of Paullus and Varro, and the minor victory narrated in 41–42, too early.⁸⁰

The aftermath of the battle, including Hannibal's offer to ransom the captives and the senate's rejection of the offer (50.4–61), will have occupied the rest of July (Jul.), but further precision is not possible. Some of the defections listed at 61.11–12 did not in fact occur in 216 (cf. n. there).

6 LANGUAGE AND STYLE

This section of the introduction aims to illustrate various aspects of L.'s language and style, as exemplified in book 22, bringing together many of the notes contained in the commentary.⁸¹

L.'s sentence structure varies considerably. In the prodigy reports in 1.8–13 (also, much more briefly, at 36.7–8), he employs a series of short clauses, linked with *et*, in *oratio obliqua*, with almost no subordination. Elsewhere in his work he uses this unadorned style also for reports of elections, assignation of provinces and armies, and games,⁸² but the only examples in book 22, all brief, are 34.1 (*consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi filius Centho, inde P. Cornelius Asina. in eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis*) and 35.5–6 (*inde praetorum comitia habita. creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius <Philus>; Philo Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter ciues Romanos et peregrinos euenit; additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam*), from the lengthy and complex

⁷⁹ Cf. Derow 2015: 234. ⁸⁰ Cf. 41–42n., Oakley 2019: 161.

⁸¹ On many of these matters see particularly Oakley 1997: 111–51, with bibliography, though this is entitled 'Style and Literary Techniques of Livy' and includes the structure of both L.'s work as a whole and of individual books, for which see section 4, as well as some aspects which are not dealt with in this introduction. Oakley's examples, of course, are taken from books 6–10. See also Kraus 1994: 17–24.

⁸² Cf. Briscoe 1973: 16.

account of the elections for 216. This is the sort of material which stood in the *annales maximi* (for which see 10.2–6n.), and though L. may not have consulted them himself, he was probably aware of the style in which they were written and adopted it for his reports. There are, though, no examples in book 22 of the short vivid sentences which are a hallmark of L.'s military style, reflecting the speed of action in a battle.⁸³ One might have expected to find it in the climaxes to Trasimene and Cannae.

But the most obvious stylistic feature of L.'s work, in both narrative and speeches, is his use of periods, long sentences with a number of subordinate clauses and sometimes more than one main clause, varying in both extent and complexity.⁸⁴ They are analysed in the notes on 3.7–9 (nine and a half lines in the OCT, but perhaps significantly longer, since the length of the lacuna at the end cannot be determined), 11.4–5 (long and complex), 20.7–9 (brief but complex), 32.1 (brief), 34.2 (brief but complex) and 52.4 (brief and tortuous). None of them, however, can be said to match the most impressive of L.'s periods.⁸⁵

A different style, often found in L.'s speeches, can be seen in the opening seven sections of Fabius' speech to Paullus (39). It contains ten sentences (or rather eleven, since the penultimate item consists of two sentences), in seven of which there is a discernible balance between two units (in the first two, also a secondary balance within one unit):

39.1 si aut collegam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, superuacanea esset oratio mea.

A conditional clause, with the protasis *si ... similis*, divided into the alternatives *aut collegam ... haberes* and *aut tu ... similis*, balanced by the apodosis *superuacanea ... mea*.

2 nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica fide uestra faceretis, | et mali nec mea uerba auribus uestris nec consilia animis acciperetis.

The sentence consists of two main clauses (the verbs are potential subjunctives) *et duo boni ... faceretis*, containing an ablative absolute *etiam me indicente*, and *mali ... acciperetis*, containing a balance between *nec ... uestris* and *nec ... animis*.

⁸³ Cf. Briscoe 1973: 117–18, on 31.23.6–7. Oakley 1997: 136–8.

⁸⁴ Cf. Oakley 1997: 128–39.

⁸⁵ See particularly Oakley 1997: 128–36.

4 nescio an infestior hic aduersarius quam ille hostis maneat.

hic aduersarius is balanced by *ille hostis* (*nescio an infestior* and *maneat* go with both).

5 cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus.

cum illo ... tantum is balanced by *cum hoc ... temporibus*.

aduersus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit oppugnaturus.

aduersus Hannibalem ... tibi sit is balanced by *Varro ... oppugnaturus*.

6 tamen ille consul demum et in prouincia et ad exercitum coepit furere: hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra uideat aut hostem, insanit.

ille ... furere (Flaminius) is contrasted to *hic ... insanit* (Varro). The second unit is much longer than the first and complex, dividing Varro's career into three periods and containing two subordinate clauses with *priusquam*.

7 et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuuentutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res uerba sequitur?

The sentence consists of two clauses of approximately equal length, a relative clause *qui ... ciet* and an interrogative main clause (with ellipse of the antecedent to *qui*) containing a subordinate clause *ubi ... sequitur* (coordinated with *inter armatam iuuentutem*).

L. was writing in a tradition of Latin historiography which began with the elder Cato in the first half of the second century BC. By the early first century a historical style had developed, discernible in the fragments of Claudius Quadrigarius (*FRHist* 24) and Sisenna (*FRHist* 26), who probably wrote in the years following the death of Sulla (79 BC), though both may have begun their work in the 80s. It was, therefore, contemporary with the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and the early works of Cicero, but their Latin is markedly different: the fragments contain a large number of examples of vocabulary, morphology and syntax which are absent, or almost so, from

Cicero (and Caesar). Some of these are found first in Claudius or Sisenna, while others occur in earlier Latin.⁸⁶ The former are, in all probability, neologisms (coinages), the latter archaisms or poeticisms.⁸⁷ Earlier historians, too, had enriched their vocabulary in these ways, but they were doing so in order to write more impressively, Claudius and Sisenna to write history in the way in which it had been written in the past.

The following usages in book 22 are absent from or do not occur more than once in Cicero and Caesar, but are found in other writers before or contemporaneous with L.; for details see the commentary:⁸⁸

1.11 *scribere* = *inscribere* 2.5 *praealtus* 3.1 *emergere de* 3.10 *emittere e manibus* 3.11 *ocius* 3.14 *primores* 11.4 *immunitus* 18.6 *populabundus* 19.4 *pergit ire* 20.8 *inritus* 22.14 *ministerium* 33.7 *in religionem uenire* 38.12 *ad id locorum* 51.3 *opus esse* + genitive 54.8 *edissertare* 61.4 *innotescere*.

The following are not found before L.; ‘hapax’ indicates that the usage does not occur elsewhere in extant Latin (it is striking that four of the five cases occur in the first two chapters):

1.2 *pro eo ut* ‘instead of’; hapax 1.7 *auspicia concipere*; hapax 1.16 *praefari* ‘announce the details of’; hapax 2.11 finite form of *capere* with *oculis* or *luminibus*; hapax 3.14 *superquam quod*; unique to L. 4.4 *inexplorato* 43.5 *transfugium* 50.6 *Latinus socius*; hapax 51.9 *superincubare*.

In the following passages L. uses a word or phrase found before him only in Cicero or Caesar:

31.3 *iuxta ac si* 42.5 *adequitare* 54.7 *occidione occidere* 58.3 *interneciuus* 59.15 *deformitas*.

These lists do not include any items from 10.2–6, the terms of the vow of the *uer sacrum*, though the commentary on this passage contains a large number of items of linguistic or stylistic interest. That is because, as explained in the commentary, the passage purports to be, and probably is,

⁸⁶ It should be stressed that almost all the verbatim fragments are cited, mainly by grammarians or lexicographers, for their linguistic interest and cannot be assumed to be representative of the work of Quadrigarius and Sisenna as a whole.

⁸⁷ On these concepts cf. Briscoe 1973: 15–16; Oakley 1997: 142–4.

⁸⁸ In the commentary (e.g.) ‘5:3:6:1’ indicates the distribution of a word in the surviving parts of L.’s work: the figures relate, respectively, to books 1–10, 21–30, 31–40, 41–45.

an authentic text of 217 BC, though one cannot totally exclude an invention by Claudius Quadrigarius or, less likely, Valerius Antias; and minor alterations to the text could have been made by L. or his source. Thus, though the passage contains a considerable number of linguistic phenomena which belong to early Latin, they are not comparable to the archaisms to be found in L.'s own narrative (and speeches), which L. introduced for a particular stylistic effect.⁸⁹

The rest of the commentary also contains a large number of linguistic and stylistic notes. Those that concern particular Latin words are listed in the Index of Latin Words, while those that relate to syntactical and stylistic matters in general will be found in the General Index. The latter, however, contains entries on a wide variety of other topics and, therefore, for the convenience of readers we list here some of those of interest for the present purpose (the meaning of some technical terms given in brackets).⁹⁰

The item in this list with the largest number of references is asyndeton; Jim Adams is writing a book on the subject and we are greatly indebted to him for advice and information.

The form of asyndeton most frequently mentioned in the commentary is *asyndeton bimembre* (two-membered asyndeton), where two words or phrases lack an expected coordinator. Examples will be found at 3.13, 6.6, 20.4, 22.15, 19, 39.2, 49.10, 54.10, 56.2, 57.10, 61.3. When three (*asyndeton trimembre*) or more words or phrases are involved,

⁸⁹ The following items of linguistic interest are discussed in the commentary: 10.2 *ad quinquennium proximum* (illogical expression); *salua seruata*; *hisce* (dative and ablative plural of *hic*); *quaeque duella* (repetition of antecedent); 3 *duellum donum duit* (cognate accusative, archaic present subjunctive of *dare*, *ex suillo ... grege* (asyndeton); *Ioui fieri* (*dare* + final infinitive); *qua die* (*dies* feminine); 4–6 future imperatives; 4 *faxit* (archaic future perfect indicative (also present/perfect subjunctive) of *facere*); *probe factum esto*; 5–6 variation of tenses; 5 *neque* linking negative to third person positive imperative; *rumpere* 'damage'; *insciens*; *fraus*; *clepere*; *ne ... neque*; 6 *si ... siue antidea ac* following comparative.

⁹⁰ Alliteration (the use of words beginning with the same letter or group of letters); anaphora *see* repetition; asyndeton (the absence of an expected coordinator between two (*asyndeton bimembre*) or more words or phrases; see further below and cf. polysyndeton); comparatives, pleonastic; conditional clauses, counterfactual; conjunct hyperbaton; *dubitatio comparatiua*; formal style; homoioteleuton (two or more words ending with the same group of letters (cf. p. 87)); illogical expressions; medical language; metonymy (referring to a thing by means of the name of a part of it or something connected with it (e.g. *forum et campus* to refer to elections)); participles, conjunctive or disjunctive with ablative absolutes, pleonasm (the use of more words than are necessary to express the desired meaning); polyptoton (the repetition of a part of speech, especially a verb, in a different inflection); polysyndeton (the use of *et* (rarely *-que* or *ac/atque*) to connect three or more words or phrases; cf. asyndeton); repetition (anaphora); ring composition; subjunctive, potential; tenses, variation of; word order (chiasmus, Wackernagel's Law).

asyndeton is regular (in English the norm is ‘end of list coordination; e.g. ‘blood, sweat and tears’); see 10.3, 39.11, 12, 15. When a new clause begins without an introductory word, we have retained the common practice of calling this asyndeton (see 1.11, 20.4, 55.6–8), though this is not always appropriate as there is no missing coordinator: at 1.11 one might indeed have expected *et sortes*, but at 20.4 it is a relative (*ubi*) which is missing, and 55.6–8 is an extended instance of end of list coordination.

In L. asyndeton occurs particularly, but by no means exclusively, in speeches (see 39.11–15, although three of the instances in that passage are three- or four-membered) and he clearly regarded it as having a stylistic effect. (See section 7(*h*).) It is, however, wrong to think that every instance of asyndeton was designed to have a particular effect on the reader (it has often, mistakenly, been thought to convey the impression of rapid action), though if L. wrote *indignitatibus cladibus* at 13.1,⁹¹ it is an instance of intensifying asyndeton. Asyndeton was a feature of various sorts of Latin, spoken and written, in various contexts. In some cases, it was the norm: thus L. writes *clam nocte* or *nocte clam* on nine occasions; he never connects the two words. The frequency and function of asyndeton vary according to the part of speech, the structure of the sentence and the genre.

7 LITERARY ASPECTS

Much of this section will, for reasons explained in (*a*), discuss the ways in which L. adapted Pol.’s narrative,⁹² and the effects of these adaptations. This will be specially true of the analyses of the narrative offered in (*b*)–(*d*), and of (*e*), ‘Themes’. But other literary aspects will also be examined, without special reference to Pol.: L. on women (*f*);⁹³ the narratological topic of counterfactuality (‘if ... not’ presentation) in L. (*g*); the speeches of book 22 (*h*); and future knowledge (*i*). That does not exhaust the literary treatments offered in this Introduction. Four other main sections are also, in part or whole, intended as contributions to literary understanding: sections 3 ‘Sources’; 4 ‘Structure’; 6 ‘Language and Style’ and 8 ‘Religion in Livy’. References in the commentary to some other narratological and rhetorical devices are not gathered separately in this section, but see the General Index under the relevant terms.⁹⁴

⁹¹ In the OCT Briscoe followed Walters in deleting *cladibus*; cf. Briscoe 2018: 57.

⁹² See section 3, ‘Sources’.

⁹³ And see section 8(*e*), ‘Emotional Responses’.

⁹⁴ E.g. analepsis, prolepsis, apostrophe, presentation by negation, focalisation, retardation, pace, seeds.

(a) Introduction

Book 22 of L.'s history⁹⁵ is a literary *tour de force* by a supremely rhetorical historian. There is a persuasive rhetoric of narrative as well as of speeches;⁹⁶ after all, many speeches, especially and necessarily forensic ones, contain narration. Thus Minucius' speech at 14 has a large narrative element, taking the form of a series of tendentiously treated historical *exempla* masked as rhetorical questions. The 'ransom' speeches at 59 and 60 also include plenty of narrative, used to manipulative effect.⁹⁷ Narratology⁹⁸ is the study of the rhetoric underlying narrative texts. Counterfactual history ('if ... not' presentation') can be written for such rhetorical purposes, and will be the subject of (g) below. It is one of the ways in which a narrator can interact unobtrusively with the narratee. A similar technique is 'presentation by negation', which can mean 'not [as you might expect]', or 'not [as some other authorities have held]'. A good example in book 22 is at 33.6, where L. says that despite the huge war in which the Romans were engaged, they did not [as you might have expected] neglect diplomacy with the wider world (cf. Th. 1.105.4). In a recent edited collection, narratological techniques have been helpfully applied to book 22.⁹⁹ For

⁹⁵ Influential modern Anglophone work on L. (see esp. Kraus 1994, and cf. Feldherr 1998) seeks to extract evidence from the text for what L. was trying to do in his History as a whole, and to compare it to Rome itself (see esp. Kraus 1994: 8, L.'s History an attempt to construct 'a written Rome ... to save the real Rome' as a parallel or rival to Augustus' physical and ideological 'building of a new Rome'). For the most part, book 22 does not seem to us to lend itself very clearly to this metahistorical approach, so we do not adopt it (but see below, p. 57, for a suggestion about 61.14, where Varro is thanked for not despairing of the *res publica*). The interesting metahistorical suggestions about some book 21 passages (the crossing of the Alps) at Levene 2010: 148–55 are of a different sort: he thinks they are part of an implied argument with Pol. about e.g. the value of *fama*.

⁹⁶ For the speeches in book 22 see below, (h); also section 4 p. 13.

⁹⁷ Not only do they both contain *exempla* from earlier Roman history: L. makes Torquatus reprise, at greater length and with distortions, L.'s authorial report of the break-out led by Sempronius Tuditanus after Cannae.

⁹⁸ The word is recent, the study and awareness is not. For a valuable glossary of narratological terms, many of them with ancient Greek equivalents as found in the scholia (ancient commentaries), see De Jong 2001: xi–xix. For a 'narratological' approach *avant la parole*, see McDonald 2009 [1957]: 232–41.

⁹⁹ See the Cannae chapters in Van Gils, De Jong and Kroon 2019, a collection devoted to Thermopylae and Cannae, with interesting comparisons between details of the two battles (see esp. De Bakker and van der Keur 2019). But the Greek and Roman battles play different structural roles in their respective historians: Thermopylae was a defeat, but enclosed between a series of victories, two of them very soon after (Marathon, Salamis and Plataea); Cannae was the last and heaviest in a series of four Roman defeats, and it would be many years until these were reversed by four victories: Baecula, Ilipa, the Metaurus and Zama. Generally, it cannot be convincingly said that the resemblances between the main features of the

example, two of the editors use a theoretical model of story-telling to illustrate L.'s narrative skills as displayed in the self-contained story ('narrative arc') of Abelux at 22, part of a larger but equally detachable Spanish section.¹⁰⁰ See 22.4–21n. and below (c). They then apply the same model to the much longer and more complex Cannae narrative. But L. is not Herodotus, and it ought to have been made clear that L.'s account of Abelux is heavily indebted to the longer, structurally similar, and arguably no less skilful narrative of Pol. (3.97.6–99.9. L.'s divergences and adaptations are, as always, interesting and instructive). This relationship does not invalidate the use of the theoretical model, but Pol. must be kept in mind through most of book 22.

(b) *Trasimene*

Book 22 begins with a very long non-Polybian description of prodigies and the steps taken to expiate them (1). For prodigies, see section 8(b).

The assumption (section 3) that L.'s main authority for the Trasimene chapters (2–7) was Pol. (3.77–86), with insertions from Coelius and perhaps others, encourages a literary analysis of L.'s narrative in the form of a comparison: what he rejected from Pol., what he took but adapted and (usually) expanded, and what he added – and how and why he did all of this. One point should be emphasised at the outset: L.'s professional respect for Pol. should not be doubted. When he calls him 'a far from contemptible writer', *haudquaquam spernendus auctor* (30.45.5), this has sounded intolerably patronising to some modern ears.¹⁰¹ But in Latin as in Greek (and in English, cf. 'he's no fool'), litotes can convey high admiration¹⁰² and its climactic positioning at the very end of the third decade is surely deliberate: Pol. is about to become a main source for L. to an even greater extent than hitherto. L. may, however, not always have understood Pol.'s Greek perfectly. For example, their descriptions of the actual battle-site are not easily reconciled – L.'s is much vaguer – and it is possible (see 4.1–7.5n.), that he was unsure of the precise meaning of the difficult word αὐλῶν, which Pol. uses no fewer than six times for the steep-sided hollow in which he located most of the fighting.

two battles are great (despite De Bakker and van der Keur 2019: 331–8, 'Larger thematic connections ...'), and Cannae is rightly ignored by Carey 2019 in ch. 8, 'Thermopylae in the ancient world'.

¹⁰⁰ Van Gils and Kroon 2019. The above reservation notwithstanding, the model will be gratefully exploited as appropriate in the commentary.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Butler and Scullard 1953: 26 and 138, 'hardly a generous tribute' and 'cavalier', or Hoyos 2006: 714, 'a notorious piece of faint praise'.

¹⁰² Cf. Th. 2.34.6, Pericles 'not unintelligent', and see Köhnken 1976 for Pindar.

The most conspicuous rejection is characteristic of L., namely the discarding of the equally characteristic didacticism¹⁰³ of the whole of Pol. 3.81, which uses Hannibal's shrewd assessment of Flaminius to elaborate discursively on the theme 'get to know your enemy' (see 3.1–5n.). Similarly, the reckless death of Marcellus later in the war prompts Pol. to offer a generalising excursus on the need for a general to take care of his own person, including a contrast with Hannibal (Pol. 10.32.7–33.7, very unlike the much briefer comment of L. at 27.27.11). In the surviving text of Pol., this didacticism reaches its most developed form in book 12, in effect a monograph on how to write – and especially how not to write – history. Even if L. had possessed Pol.'s experience as politician and perhaps soldier, it would have been hard for him to reproduce this sort of distinctive authorial lecture without a surrender of his intellectual independence; whereas adaptation, in another language, of a predecessor's military account could be done without leaving such obvious traces. Pol.'s business-like and prosaic narrative style was a gift to a rhetorical author like L.: it gave him reliable factual material on which to exercise his imagination. L.'s avoidance of Pol.'s didacticism is a sub-category of a larger tendency to prefer more 'indirect, more literary devices' to the 'direct ... interventions' favoured by Pol. as primary narrator.¹⁰⁴ (But see (g): both Pol. and L. indulge in counter-factually expressed speculation, which is often a species of direct authorial intervention.) The counterpart to Pol.'s didacticism is L.'s occasional explicit and pessimistic moralising (the two habits are not identical). This is most obviously and famously displayed in the Preface to the whole work;¹⁰⁵ a particular example in book 22 is the sententious comment that self-advancement by denigrating a superior is a bad habit which has grown more widespread (12.12 and n., where it is suggested that L. had Marius in mind; cf. section 4(b)). But in the main narrative this feature is not intrusive in the way that Pol.'s didacticism often is.

A related – and to modern minds attractive – feature of L. is his omission of, and usual refusal to imitate, Pol.'s often extended (and often unfair) polemic against predecessors.¹⁰⁶ Pol.'s book 12 criticises Timaeus and Callisthenes relentlessly and at length, and his explanation of his preference for Aratus over Phylarchus as the most reliable source for the

¹⁰³ On Pol.'s didacticism, see Tränkle 1977: 93 and Comber 1997: 44. For an example from book 21 (the Trebia) of L.'s elimination of Polybian didacticism, see 28–30n.

¹⁰⁴ For this formulation see Pausch 2016: 327.

¹⁰⁵ On L.'s pessimistic moralising see Gabba 1991: 20–2 (contrast with Dionysius of Halicarnassus). On the Preface in particular, see Moles 2009 [1993] (esp. 82–6 on its relation to Sallustian pessimism).

¹⁰⁶ See Walbank 1985: 262–79. For L.'s (mild) criticism of sources in book 22, see p. 13.

‘Cleomenic war’ takes the form of a sustained denigration of the latter’s historical methods (2.56–63). By contrast, when L. says he prefers Fabius’ version of the losses after Trasimene, he confines himself to noting that Fabius was a contemporary of the events he described, and to the mild and unspecific observation that historians are too prone to exaggerate (7.4: not from Pol., for whose neutrally stated casualty figures see 3.84.7 and 85.1); he does however single out Valerius Antias for exaggeration on four occasions, and on one of them says this amounted to limitless lying.¹⁰⁷ But that is as far as he ever goes, and it is always very brief, a few words each time. His multiple citation of the casualty total recorded by Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias and Calpurnius Piso (25.39.12–16, Spain) avoids abuse of any of them. (This point is unaffected if, as is possible, some of L.’s knowledge of Piso was second-hand.) It is tempting to think that this is no more than a way of saying that today’s readers would find L. a nicer person than Pol. But it has been observed¹⁰⁸ that extended polemic, as used by Greek historians as ‘an essential element of self-definition’, is rare among Roman ones; the main counter-example is L.’s lengthy passage about Alexander and the Romans in book 9 (for this, see below, (e)), and even there the targets are left anonymous: ‘frivolous Greeks’, *levissimi ex Graecis*.¹⁰⁹

For the understanding of L.’s literary and rhetorical technique, the most instructive divergences from Pol. are naturally his adaptations. On the whole, his account is much longer. But there are exceptions. One example was mentioned above, the Abelux episode. Another is the clausal sentence about Trasimene. Pol.’s unadorned summation ‘the final engagement in Etruria between Romans and Carthaginians ended in this way’ (3.84.15, τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ὅλον κίνδυνον τὸν γεγόμενον ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις τοῦτον ἐπετελέσθη τὸν τρόπον) are transformed by L. (see 7.1n.). He begins with a formula reminiscent of obituary notices; he fixes the battle-site for all time by naming it as Trasimene (Pol. names it – as a lake – only once, at the preparatory 3.82.9,¹¹⁰ whereas L. names it four times between 4 and 8); L. characterises it as *nobilis* (‘famous’); and

¹⁰⁷ *FRHist* 25T1–4. At T1 he says there is no limit to Antias’ lying.

¹⁰⁸ Marincola 1997: 224, who also cites the Alexander passage as counter-example.

¹⁰⁹ 9.18.6; attempts to identify them are misguided. Against the usual candidate Timagenes (*FGrHist* 88), see Badian’s editorial intervention at Syme 1979c: 441 n. 11.

¹¹⁰ At Pol. 5.101.3, Trasimene is again ‘the battle in Etruria’, as also at 15.11.8 (Hannibal’s speech before Zama, after naming the Trebia). Similarly at 3.108.9, Varro in his speech to his troops before Cannae speaks of ‘those who fought in Etruria’, again just after naming the Trebia river. Pol.’s reluctance to name Trasimene is curious.

he concludes the sentence by classing it with other unspecified Roman military disasters. L. achieves this effect, not by expansion – on the contrary, Pol.'s eighteen pedestrian words of Greek are reduced to a mere thirteen of tauter Latin – but by decisive shift of emphasis: Trasimene is accorded its black place in Roman history.

Thereafter, L. writes up the arrival of the news of Trasimene into an emotional crowd-scene and a superb example of a *fama* episode, with special attention to the gendering of the reactions at Rome (see 7.6–13n.). Contrast Pol. 3.85.8–10: the praetor's announcement from the rostrum of the defeat produced such agitation (διατροπή) that the disaster seemed, to those who had experienced both, to be greater than during the battle itself (a frigid and puzzling remark, rightly passed over by L.: how many survivors of the battle can have been present to hear the praetor?). Pol. then says merely that the Romans were so unaccustomed to defeat that they were unable to bear it with moderation and dignity; but the senate remained self-possessed.

But the most important difference of emphasis from Pol. concerns the battle itself: the insistent stress on the mist or fog which affected the combatants asymmetrically, because the Romans were disadvantaged by occupying the lower and more obfuscated terrain. To be sure, Pol. duly registers the weather (3.84.1); and he has Paullus before Cannae explain to his troops that those who fought at Trasimene not only had not seen the enemy before, but could not even see them in the battle itself because of the atmospheric conditions, διὰ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα γινόμενον σύμπτωμα (3.108.9). But there is a world of difference between the brisk 'the mist having now lifted, they realised what had happened' (Pol. 3.84.13) and L.'s magnificent expansion of this at 6.9; see n. there on *cum incalcescente sole* ... and on the powerful word *foede*. Throughout the battle narrative, L. is able, by means of this theme (and by clever exploitation of the ambiguities of *caligo*, see 5.3n.), to range Trasimene with some of the great night-battles of epic and history, when reduced visibility made death specially horrible (see introductory n. to 4.1–7.5).

In terms of scale, the most spectacular elaboration of Pol. is the treatment of the dejected Flaminius' death at the hands of what Pol. calls 'certain Celts', τινὲς τῶν Κελτῶν (3.84.6). In L. by contrast (6.1–4), Flaminius fights bravely to the end – and thus to some extent redeems himself after his folly in seeking battle at all – but is identified and speared to death by a single named Insubrian horseman called Ducarius, who is given a short speech of bitter *oratio recta*, the language of which may echo earlier episodes in L. (see (h) below). The speech's taunts will have reminded ancient readers of L.'s now lost book 20 that Flaminius had earned the hatred of the Gauls for his depredations during his earlier consulship in 223.

Ducarius, who has a good Celtic name, is only one example of L.'s achievement of greater specificity and thus greater vividness than Pol. by the simple device of naming (cf. above on the place name Trasimene). In Pol., the announcement of the defeat is made by 'the praetor' (above); in L., he is M. Pomponius (7.8 and n.). Apart from Hannibal and Flaminius, Pol. names only Maharbal in his Trasimene narrative (3.84.14).

Finally, it is arguable that L. modifies the shamefulness of the Roman surrender, especially that of those who sought refuge in the lake.¹¹¹

The amplifications at 6.1–4 (Ducarius) and 7.6–13 (the reaction at Rome) are so extensive as almost to qualify them for treatment in the third category of comparison: actual additions to Pol. The main body of Livian material which has no counterpart in Pol. is religious, the baleful anecdotes at the end of 3 and the post-battle measures described at 9.7–10.10. Together with the prodigies in 1, closely linked to Flaminius' neglect of religious rituals, the material at his disposal enabled L. to frame his Trasimene narrative with Flaminius' impiety and the measures taken, at the instance of Fabius, to atone for it (see particularly 9.7); both religiously and militarily, Fabius had to deal with the legacy of Flaminius. For religion in L. see section 8.

(c) *Between Trasimene and Cannae*

In the long narrative which separates the two main battles, L. continues to exploit Pol. and adapt him, often expanding his material so as to bring out more forcefully the contrasts between personalities and strategies (see further (e) below, 'Themes').

Chs. 12–18 are exclusively Italian in focus. Confrontation refused (apart from the Hostilius disaster at 15.4–9 and the skirmish at 18.1–4) would have made for a tediously monochrome narrative. So L. includes two extended splashes of colour: Minucius' speech at 14.4–14, which ranges in time from the Gallic sack to Saguntum, and the stratagem of the flaming oxen at 16.5–17.4. Of these the first is entirely non-Polybian, the second is essentially Polybian (Pol. 3.93–4), but with some picturesque and perhaps poetically-derived elaboration, such as the comparison of the oxen to fire-breathers (17.5). On the other hand (see 18.1n. on *insidias esse ratus*), L. suppresses a direct and attributed Polybian quotation from 'the poet' i.e. Homer (Pol. 3.94.4).

¹¹¹ As Stephen Oakley suggests to us, drawing attention to the differences between 6.7 and Pol. 3.84.9. He argues that L. lessens Roman 'shamefulness and stupidity' by omitting σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις at Pol. 84.9 (they tried to swim *in their armour*), and the pathetic begging at 84.10.

L. also greatly sharpens and expands the essentially Polybian contrast between Fabius' qualities and those of his detractors. See 12.6n. on *prudentiam* ..., and 12.12nn. on *pro cunctatore* ... and *pessima ars* ...: the moralising comment on the deplorable behaviour of future commanders is not Polybian (see further (e) below, 'Themes'). Whole episodes are added to Pol.'s account from somewhere else: the Campanian cavalrymen and the ridiculous muddle over the place names Casinum and Casilinum (13.2–9) are new. The Campanian theme will be important in book 23, for which Pol.'s full account does not survive, so that it is not possible to assess the degree to which L. drew on Pol. The extended narrative of the language muddle can be explained in various ways (perhaps to make fun of Hannibal, or to illustrate his cruelty): see 13.6n. The surprisingly full account of the defeat and death of Hostilius Mancinus (15.4–11) is not from Pol.; it may (see section 4(a) and (b)) reflect the second-century unpopularity of this man's ill-fated family.

Conversely, some Polybian material is cut or much reduced: see 14.1n.: L. does not attempt to reproduce Pol.'s encomium on the fertility of Campania at 3.91. Perhaps he thought it unnecessary for the Italian readership he had in mind.

Chs. 19–22 are a Spanish interlude; the Romans are mainly successful here both militarily and diplomatically. Part of the effect of this is to provide relief from the Roman disasters which otherwise dominate the book: see section 4(a). These events are narrated by Pol. 3.95–9; L.'s account, however, contains material not in Pol. and either derives from Coelius or represents a combination of Polybius and Coelius; cf. Levene 2010: 146–7, arguing that the placing of the Spanish narrative at the same point in both L. and Pol. constitutes evidence for the latter. See section 3 pp. 9 and 12. Other sources are Sosylus (*FGrHist* 176F1), Frontin. 4.7.9 and Zon. 9.1.1–3.

Up to 19.6, L.'s narrative follows Pol. closely, but then diverges markedly from Pol. 3.96.1–4 (see 19.6 *multas* ... 12n.). At the beginning, Pol. says only that news of the Roman attack was communicated to Hasdrubal from lookouts while L. talks about the prevalence of watch towers in Spain and their uses. Then, instead of L.'s long account in the rest of 19, portraying the outcome as due as much to the Carthaginians' panic as to the battle itself, Pol. says that it was due to the presence of the Carthaginian infantry on the shore, which rather than giving them confidence in fighting made them think that they would be safe whatever happened.

Nothing in Pol. corresponds to 20.4–21.8, a narrative of operations in which the Romans are mainly successful.

The Abelux episode is related by Pol. 3.97.6–99.9 and by L. at 22.4–21. For Pol. as the source of L.'s briefer account, see introductory n. to that

section of L. The episode is well analysed by Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 198–204 as an example of L.’s ‘skills as a narrator’, but (as noted at (a) above) they neglect the skill displayed by Pol.’s structurally similar and fuller account. They detect and define the following stages: **22.6**, ‘abstract’ i.e. anticipatory statement of a significant aspect of the ensuing narrative, not always taking the form of an actual summary; **22.6–7** ‘orientation’ i.e. necessary background information; **22.8** and **9**, ‘complications’; **22.12–14** ‘peak’ i.e. ultimate stage of tension building; **22.12.18**, ‘resolution’; **23.1** ‘coda’ i.e. summarising bridge to time of narrating. They go on to apply this model to the larger Cannae narrative to come.

Just before the start of the Minucius narrative which follows the Spanish excursus, L. signals a war-year by its number for the first time (see **23.1n.** on *secunda aestate Punici belli*). For this non-Polybian practice, carried out intermittently by L. until the end of the war, see section 4(c), where it is argued that this device helped to underline the status of the third decade as a narrative unity, in fact a monograph about the Hannibalic War. As elsewhere (cf. **28.16.14**), L. here uses the transitional formula as a device for weaving his Spanish material into the rest of his narrative (Italian here; African there).

The events of chs. **23–30** (Fabius and Minucius) represent the much briefer account of Pol. **3.103–5**. Here, above all, the clash of temperaments and strategies was at its most acute, so it was natural for L. to wish to build up the episode and the polarities as far as he could (see further (e) below). In particular, the speech of Metilius in indirect mode (**25.3–11**) enables L. to present the anti-Fabian line to be expressed with maximum rhetorical force; Fabius’ reply takes the form of a restrained speech to the senate, also reported in indirect mode (**25.12–15**). L. conveys a sinister hint at the catastrophe to come, by means of the non-Polybian and perhaps implausible detail that Terentius Varro, the future loser at Cannae as a result of his rejection of Fabian delay, *cunctatio*, was the sole advocate of the proposal to raise Minucius’ *imperium* to equal that of the dictator Fabius (**25.18n**; on the precise constitutional position, L.’s account is preferable to that of Pol. at **3.103.4**: see **25.10n.** on *de aequando* ... This early mention of Varro enables L. to introduce the theme of his low and plebeian origins, cf. below on **34.2**). But despite these expressions of no confidence, Fabius manages to turn general *invidia*, unpopularity, for his policy of *cunctatio* into praise, *laus*, by ignoring baseless kinds of *fama* in favour of the real thing, which is praised to the skies, even by Hannibal himself (**30.7** and **10**); see Hardie 2012: 260–1. Indeed the process is observable in miniature even within the narrative of **23**: Fabius initially incurs *invidia* because Hannibal spares his lands, but turns this into the

highest praise by gifting his lands to the people: 23.5n. on *in maximam laudem uerso*. This is also in Plutarch (*Fab.* 7.4) but not in Pol.

The *peripeteia* or reversal of fortune is narrated at 28–30, where Fabius rescues Minucius from his folly. Pol. (3.104.1) says that Hannibal knew of the rivalry between the generals, both from what he saw for himself and from prisoners. L. amplifies and enlivens this by adding Hannibal's double joy (28.1n.). Generally, L. follows Pol.'s briefer account (3.104–5), but with rhetorical embellishments (some from Coelius, perhaps), notably the addition of the three lively pieces of *oratio recta* in 29–30 (including an unattributed quotation from Hesiod, 29.8n.); and see below for the ambush. The details of the reconciliation and Minucius' penitence are not from Pol.; but an inscribed Augustan *elogium* shows that this material was not entirely L.'s invention (29.10n. on *parentem* ...). If L. writes up this event more fully and colourfully than does Pol., that may be because he wants to dwell on a brighter stretch of narrative and a happier outcome from the patriotic Roman perspective, so as to provide emotional relief from the two prolonged stretches of gloom which dominate book 22: Trasimene and Cannae. Fabius' prudence also (cf. above) throws the folly of Varro at Cannae into sharper relief.

The detail of the ambush at 28 is more elaborate than in Pol. For L.'s interest in such things, and his stylised ambush descriptions see Oakley 2005a: 52–3 (9.2.6–8n., on the Caudine Forks disaster). Stephen Oakley also suggests to us that the present passage may recall Pol. 3.71.1–4, the battle at the Trebia, where L. has cut out the tedious sermon in the original on how to ambush.

There are literary models, both within L.'s own earlier text and from Homer, for the motif of the brash younger man who apologises promptly and handsomely for his bad behaviour, and so melts the anger of his injured senior: see 23–30n.

The closural ch. 29 contains some extravagant and poetic hints at Fabius' quasi-divine status. See 29.3n. on *uelut caelo demissa*, 30.7n. on *Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre* and 30.10n. on *eam nubem*, with Hardie 2012: 261. None of this is in Pol.

With 31–33 the emotional temperature drops. From 31 to 38.12 it is not possible to compare L. with Pol., who is far more succinct here (3.106). L.'s account of the consular elections for 216 BC (33.9–35.7) is unusually long; Pol. (3.106.1) merely says that the time for the elections was approaching and the Romans elected Paullus and Varro. The extended election narrative enables L. to reproduce once again the hostile tradition of Varro's plebeian origins (see esp. 34.2n., 34.4–11n., and cf. above on 25.18).

The list of prodigies at 36.6–8, though it precedes Cannae and even Pol. (3.112.8–9) mentions prodigies at this point, is very short. It may be that he wanted to avoid a second long list in book 22 (see 1.8–20), perhaps spoiling the effect of Fabius' speech in 39 by further delaying the narrative of the battle itself. (See 36.6–8n. on Levene's explanations of this oddity.)

Fabius' long speech of advice and warning to the consul Paullus (38.13–39.22) is one of L.'s most conspicuous inventions in book 22, in whose structure it plays a pivotal role. It is absent altogether from Pol., who mentions only the senate as a whole encouraging Paullus (3.108.1), although this does not necessarily mean he was unaware of any role played by Fabius: he could have found something of the sort in Fabius Pictor but have chosen to ignore it. The speech is surely L.'s own composition (on *fertur* at 38.13 see introductory n. to the speech). Part of the effect of the speech is to retard the narrative of the battle of Cannae, and thus increase suspense; but the main and more obvious aims are to present the superiority of Fabian tactics; to evaluate the personalities of the two consuls, and to reprise that well-established type, the wise warner, who goes back via the Classical Greek historians to Homer (see 38.13–39.22n.).

(d) *Cannae*

L.'s narrative of Cannae (the place name will here be used as short-hand for the battle itself and its lengthy prelude and sequel) similarly uses, elaborates and departs from Polybius.¹¹² Where the two accounts differ, Pol.'s should not automatically be preferred, although he provides the framework for a day-by-day chronology, as L. does not, and his presentation of the topography is more intelligible. Pol. makes factual mistakes (he mixes up Minucius and the ex-consul Atilius Regulus and has the latter die at Cannae, 25.16n.; Pol.'s casualty figures are higher and less plausible, 49.15n.); Pol. is not free from political bias, notably in favour of the consul Paullus (see introduction to 40.4–50.3); and he does not bring out, as L. does, the importance of battle-exhaustion (47.10n.).

L. the artist has done some of the work in advance. He has more than once anticipated the catastrophe: see 25.18n. for the pointed and early emphasis on the shortcomings of Varro; 39.8 (Fabius anticipates a worse defeat than Trasimene), cf. Paullus at 40.1–3; and esp. the bold and

¹¹² See Oakley 2019, a very thorough and valuable treatment of Cannae in this way. See also the commentary, especially for Ennius' handling.

menacing prolepses at 42.10, the imminent *pestis*, and 43.9, *clade* and *urgente fato*. See nn. on all these passages, and below, n. 142.

At some point before the main battle, the Romans won a minor but misleading victory, and the difference in handling between L. and Pol. is instructive as an example of Livian narrative displacement. L. (41–42) places it very earlier on, soon after the consuls have arrived. He implies a date before the Polybian narrative has even reached Day 1, which it does at 3.108.2. In L.'s presentation, the Roman success was the work of a malign *fortuna* (41.1): it did Hannibal no great damage (he welcomed it as bait, 41.4), but it encouraged the more impetuous of the consuls. Pol. (3.110.4–7) places it much later in the narrative sequence, on Day 4 in Oakley's scheme when Varro was in command (Oakley 2019: 185), only four days before the main battle on Day 8; see 44.7n. By putting Paullus in command (41.2–3n.), L. is able to make Varro criticise him for losing the opportunity of finishing off the war (see 41–42n.). A fragment of Ennius (*Ann.* 258–60 Sk, book VIII fr. 4) seems to belong in this context: 'one day accomplishes much in war ... and many fortunes chance to sink back again: Fortune has attended almost no one at every moment ...' i.e. Paullus, who refused to follow up Varro's success, warned that it could be reversed in a moment. The ruse at 41.4–42.12 fails because of the chance of the information provided by two slaves (42.11); this has the effect of postponing the Roman disaster, which, has thus, however, been cleverly adumbrated (42.10, *imminentem pestem*, see above).

L. makes effective and characteristic use of dramatic *peripeteia* (reversal) in this episode. At first it seems that Marius Statilius has effected a *peripeteia* at 42.4, but he has not. As often *forte* (42.10) signals the turning point: Oakley 1997: 416 (6.3.4n.); cf. 127.

Up to 47, L. derives from Pol. but when he breaks away from Pol.'s drier account in 48 and 49, it is to provide some more colourful, personal and Herodotean touches, including portions of lively and unusual *oratio recta*, the drama of the Numidians' treachery (on which see below) and the moving exchange between the dying consul Paullus and the military tribune Lentulus. By contrast, when Pol. invents speeches (3.108 and 111), they are not much more than conventional pre-battle encouragement. L. did not bother with these. Pol. knew that there was discussion at Rome about whether or not to ransom the prisoners, and describes it in an unexpected place: not as part of the post-Cannae narrative in book 3, but at the end of book 6, to make an exemplary point about Roman strength of purpose (6.58.2–13). But he shows no specific knowledge of a full-dress senatorial debate between a representative of the prisoners and the stern Manlius Torquatus, such as L. uses to close book 22 (59–60).

As in the Trasimene chapters, L. provides much more religious detail than Pol. See e.g. 42.8 and 9nn. for the bad omen of the sacred chickens; Pol. 3.112.7–9 is by contrast vague and general.

From Ennius and (writing much later) Appian, it is clear that L. chose to ignore a theme prominent in the non-Polybian tradition: the large battle-role of the ex-consul Servilius Geminus (43.8n. on *nemo praeter* ..., 45.8n.). The motive for the suppression was presumably to retain the simple and artistically effective binary opposition between rash Varro and the more cautious Paullus (49.6–12n.). L. does not, however, want the reader to forget Fabius, although the latter was not present at Cannae. He therefore (see Oakley 2019: 164) inserts reminders that Fabius' policy was the correct one, for example by claiming that Hannibal was short of supplies: see 40.9n. for this non-Polybian theme. The implication of this is that battle might have been avoided altogether with a little more delay and circumspection on the Roman side. See further (g).

The pretended surrender of five hundred Numidians (48) is an example of what L. calls 'Carthaginian deception' (48.1n.) only on the assumption that it was supposed to have been ordered by Hannibal or a colleague (see 48.2n. on *gladios* ...), although L. does not say so explicitly. The ruse is not mentioned by Pol., and has been dismissed on those grounds only – no doubt rightly, but it is surely possible that some minor incident in the battle was remembered and reported by survivors, and then magnified by Roman patriotic tradition. But the tradition is anyway not purely Livian. Appian *Hann.* 22–3.96–104 has a full and detailed account of the pretended desertion of five hundred Celtiberians who were received warmly by Servilius Geminus; see 45.8n. L. and Appian are clearly giving two versions of the same tradition, except that L. writes of duplicitous Numidians not Celtiberians, and ignores the role of Servilius; while Appian wrongly places Servilius on the left wing rather than the centre. On this false or at best tendentiously inflated tradition these deserters, by their attack on the Roman rear, decided the outcome of the battle. The face-saving motive for the invention or distortion is to suggest that Rome's greatest defeat was due to treachery; the alleged deserters have been erroneously allotted the role of Hasdrubal's cavalry.

L.'s literary and historical technique in 48–49 is illustrated both by what he takes from the non-Polybian tradition and what he leaves. He could not resist the story of Lentulus and Paullus (an opportunity for some moving rhetoric by both men), and he retained the patriotic fiction or exaggeration of the role of the five hundred pretended deserters, who provided an explanation of the defeat at Cannae as due in part to treachery. But he

left out the heroic actions and death of the ex-consul Servilius, although this motif was evidently central to the account of Appian and probably also that of Ennius. L. must have been well aware of this last and possibly truthful narrative thread, but he suppressed it in favour of the simple binary opposition noted above.

See 45.8n. for the conversation between Servilius and a friend during the battle, and for the suggestion that this exchange was a counterpart to that between Lentulus and Paullus.

L.'s summing up at 50.1 (*haec est pugna <Cannensis>, Alliensi cladi nobilitate par*) is a deliberate parallel to 7.1, at the conclusion of the Trasimene narrative. In particular, *haec est* recalls *hic exitus* in obituary notices in historical writers. The battle of the Allia, where the Roman army was defeated by the Gauls, was deeply embedded in the Roman public memory.

In L., the aftermath of Cannae gets more space than the battle, as has often been noticed (most recently Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 225, cf. Oakley 2019: 170). Coelius narrated the battle of Cannae in book 1 of his history but appears to have divided the immediate aftermath between books 1 and 2 (cf. *FRHist* I 259). By including it all in book 22, L. is able to conclude the book with the set-piece debate between the representatives of the Roman captives and T. Manlius Torquatus, followed by the senate's decision on their fate, the (partly anachronistic) list of defecting states and the expression of gratitude to Varro. This allows him to begin book 23 with the long account of the defection of Capua. Pol. closed his book 3 with Cannae and the remark that despite the shattering defeat they eventually defeated the Carthaginians and in a few years made themselves masters of the whole world (3.118.8–9). He then switches to Greek affairs in book 4, so that the last ten chapters of L. 22 have no Polybian counterparts, except that (cf. p. 43) the attempted ransoming of the Roman prisoners at 58–61.10 features unexpectedly at the end of Pol.'s book 6 as an illustration of Roman national character (6.58).

Of the details of 50.4–59, the most famous is at 51.1–4, Maharbal's advice to Hannibal to march on Rome straight away, and his comment when Hannibal refuses. This story, for whose counterfactual aspect see further (g) below, is not in Pol. But it was recounted by Cato (*FRHist* 5F78–9) and adapted by Coelius (*FRHist* 15F22). In Cato, Maharbal's punch line comes on the following day, after Hannibal had accepted his proposal, while L., whose source cannot be determined, achieves 'dramatic unity' by placing it immediately after Hannibal's initial response. L.'s source cannot be determined (cf. 2n.). The non-Polybian female benefactor Busa (52.7 and 54.3–4) is discussed at (f) below.

(e) *Themes*

It has already been mentioned that one important way in which L. adapted Pol. in book 22 was by adding or sharpening comments which emphasise a group of recurrent themes. One of the most persistent of these is that of *temeritas*: the rashness of the popular leaders, Flaminius, Minucius and Varro, in contrast to the caution and *prudentia* of Fabius runs through book 22 (see 3.4n. and cf. 9.7, 23.3, 25.12, 27.8, 28.2, 29.1, 38.12, 40.2, 41.1, 44.5, 7, Oakley 1997: 582–3 (6.22.6n.)). *temeritas* is naturally associated with *ferocia*, another favourite concept in L. 22, although it can sometimes be positive (see 3.4n. on *consul ferox*). For Fabius' *prudentia* see 12.6n., and cf. *parere prudenti* at 29.9 (Minucius), and Fabius' own speech at 39.12, where it is combined with the idea of *constantia*. The word *sollers* at 23.1, applied to Fabius' policy of *cunctatio*, delay, on which see below, has a similar force to *prudens*. (In the same spirit Tacitus – *Hist.* 3.20.1, indirect speech – makes a speaker oppose *temeritas* and *cunctatio* and says that generals help more by the latter than by the former.) 23.6 and 7 look like L.'s elaboration of Pol., with a view to emphasising the contrast between Fabius' prudence and the rashness of Minucius and Varro (for *temeritas* as an insistent theme of the book, see 3.4n., as above). But this is elaboration, not invention: Pol. 3.89.3 uses pleonastic language to emphasise Fabius' prudence (οὔτε βουλευέστερον οὔτε φρονιμώτερον οὐδένα δυνατόν ἦν χρῆσθαι τοῖς τότε περιστάσει καιροῖς). For an earlier contrast between an older wiser man and a younger impetuous colleague, see 23–30n. for Camillus and L. Furius at 6.22–5.

A related but distinct contrast is that between *consilium* ((wise) counsel) or *ratio* (reason) on the one hand, and *fortuna* (luck) on the other. (See 18.9n., also discussing the Greek opposition between τύχη and ἀρετή.) The two concepts are usually opposed, cf. 23.2, *ratione non fortuna*; 25.14, Fabius' speech to the senate; 39.21, Fabius' advice to Paullus before Cannae (with Buijs 2019: 278, 284 and Table at 276); 41–42n. (citing Ennius *Ann.* 259 Sk.); Levene 2010: 293 and n. 73, cf. 286 n. 59; on *fortuna* in book 22 cf. Oakley 1997: 581 (6.22.6–27.1n.), and for the cult of Fortuna see Miano 2018.

Naturally, the theme of delay is a frequent feature of a book much of which is dominated by Fabius, the great *cunctator* (Enn. *Ann.* 363 Sk., *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*);¹¹³ see 12.12n. and cf. 14.5 *cunctatione*

¹¹³ Elliott 2009 rightly stresses the prominence of this theme in book 22. But when she argues that L. adopted Enn. 363 as a 'central motif' (533), she exaggerates somewhat. Everyone knew about Fabius' strategy, and references to it do not have to be references to Ennius. She sees significance in L.'s use of gerunds, but they are not unusual in Latin; and the only instance in L. of *unus homo* in the nominative (535) refers to Archimedes (24.34.1, see 22.6n.).

et socordia, 14.10 *cunctantibus*, 15.1 *cunctationem*, 23.1 *sollers cunctatio* and 27.4. *sedere* ('staying put') is a related theme; see 14.14n. and 39.15n. See also above on *temeritas* for Tacitus.

On the *fama* theme (especially Fabius' refusal to secure a good reputation and popularity in conventional ways), see 25.12n. See also 7.6–13n. for the 'self-contained set-pieces of *fama* in the third decade': Hardie 2012: 256 and n. 78, comparing Luc. 1.466–86, and noting the 'gendering of rumour and gossip' after Trasimene; on this, see esp. 7.7 and 11–12.

L. persistently, especially in the narrative between the two main battles, plays up the theme 'who – i.e. which Roman commander – is superior to Hannibal?'; see e.g. 29.2n., 27.2n. and 29.6n.

Discord between Roman commanders will be an important theme of the Cannae narrative, so is introduced emphatically here; see 34.1n. on *magno certamine*, citing Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 215.

On the Carthaginian side, the notion of deceitfulness as a national characteristic (*Punica fraus* or *fides*) is a favourite with L., and not only in book 22. (But it was already in Pol.: see 3.78.1 Φοινικικῶν στρατηγῆμασι with HCP 412, where Walbank considers but rejects the notion that the proverb was an old Greek one going back to Homer, *Od.* 14.288.) See 48.1n., and cf. 26.17.6 and 15, 30.22.6; Jaeger 1997: 99 with n. 13, Levene 2010: 216; Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 192–3, 203 and 224; Pausch 2019; see also Will 1983: 174 n. 8 for *Punica fides*. For the thought cf. also 6.12, *Punica religio*, and on *fraus* see 28.6n. See further section 8(a): some Romans were not innocent of perjury.

At the end of the book (the 'ransom debate'), *ignavia*, 'cowardice' is stressed at 60.8 and 17.

(f) *Women in Livy: Busa the Apulian Benefactor*

One detail in L.'s account of the aftermath of Cannae, absent from Pol., concerns women, or rather one particular woman, the wealthy Apulian Busa. Her unusual name indicates family origins in Illyria, on the directly opposite side of the Adriatic from Apulia, which was therefore an obvious and frequent first destination for Illyrian settlers. Busa provided massive help in the form of food and clothing for thousands of Roman survivors of Cannae who had made their way to Canusium, and was thanked for this by the senate after the war (52.7 and 54.3–4; cf. Val. Max. 4.8.2). This is remarkable:¹¹⁴ many women in L. lack agency and financial independence of the sort displayed and possessed by Busa: they

¹¹⁴ See Hornblower 2019: 71–2 and n. 8.

are purely passive objects of male lust (a group which includes Vestal Virgins punished for alleged *stuprum*, ‘illicit sex’, 57.2–3), or at most are supposedly guilty of poisoning, which is agency of an ascribed sort. As collectives, women are said to be prone to extravagant displays of grief, and their disruptive behaviour must be curbed by the male authorities (7.6–13n., cf. 61.3n. for female tears: see section 8(e)). Busa fits into none of the conventional Livian categories.¹¹⁵ Her wealth can perhaps be explained by a prosopographical hypothesis:¹¹⁶ a Greek inscription from Aegean Delos,¹¹⁷ datable to a generation before Busa, honours a Greek from precisely Canusium called Βοῦζος, who is likely to have been an early example of the many Italian businessmen attested epigraphically on Delos in the Hellenistic period. Bouzos could have been her father, and have bequeathed his wealth to his daughter. If this hypothesis is on the right lines, it would strengthen the credibility of L.’s source at this point, whoever that was (perhaps Coelius). The record of the senate’s post-war thanks to Busa might have provided someone with documentary evidence.

(g) *Counterfactual History*

Probably the best-known anecdote regarding Cannae is the exchange after the battle between Maharbal and Hannibal at 51; see n. there, and above, (e). Maharbal urges Hannibal to attack Rome, telling him that he could be dining on the Capitol in four days; Hannibal refuses, and Maharbal tells him he knows how to win but not how to use a victory. As has been seen above, the story was in Cato and Coelius, but is not in Pol. This picturesque anecdote is an implied example of counterfactual (‘what if ...?’ or ‘if only’) history:¹¹⁸ it asks, in effect, ‘what would have hap-

¹¹⁵ She does not feature in most of the many modern discussions of women in L., which tend to concentrate on some famous examples in the early books (to the examples at Hornblower 2019: n. 8 add Joshel 2009 [1992] on Lucretia and Verginia); but see Kowalewski 2002: 306–7 for Busa as an *exemplum munificentiae*. Her generosity was, however, celebrated by Boccaccio, *On famous women* ch. 69, who compares it favourably with that of Alexander the Great. The ch. begins ‘some people call her Paulina as if Busa were a family name (*cognatio*)’. For a tr., see Brown 2001: 140–2. There is nothing about ‘Paulina’ in the only two ancient sources, L. and Val. Max. For the solution to this puzzle see Zaccaria 1970: 517–18: at 52.7, P has *Apaula*, ‘corrected’ to *Paula*. The right word is *Apula*, ‘Apulian’ (see app.). Boccaccio or his medieval or Renaissance source was misled by *Paula*.

¹¹⁶ Hornblower 2019: 73–4. ¹¹⁷ IG xi 4.642.

¹¹⁸ See (a) above. This sub-section is mostly confined to counterfactual statements outside speeches. For L.’s fondness for beginning speeches counterfactually (‘if the situation were different ... but as it is’), see 39.1–2n., giving other examples from L. The device is as old as Thucydides and Demosthenes. For an indignant counterfactual statement in reported speech, see 41.3 (Varro before Cannae).

pened if Hannibal had marched against Rome straight after the battle?', an example of a rhetorical device by which the narrator interacts with the narratee. Similarly, the implication of the Livian but not Polybian motif that Hannibal was running seriously short of supplies (see (b) above) is that the catastrophe of Cannae was avoidable if the consuls had only maintained the Fabian strategy for a little longer and so forced Hannibal to return to Gaul.¹¹⁹ In L., compare the lengthy and much-discussed counterfactual at 9.17.1–19.17 ('what would have happened to the Romans if they had fought a war against Alexander the Great?'),¹²⁰ and 21.2.1–2 ('what if Hannibal's father Hamilcar had lived longer?').¹²¹ On the eve of the battle of the Metaurus, L. uses an ostensible report of nervous contemporary 'what if?' speculation at Rome so as to convey the enormity of Claudius Nero's gamble in marching the length of Italy to join the other consul Livius Salinator in Umbria ('what if Hannibal were to realise what had happened and pursue Nero?': 27.44.4). This example may not seem like genuine counterfactuality because it purports to be about a live future possibility, but in fact it is surely more likely to derive from discussions after the event ('that was a close shave!').¹²²

To this straightforward type of counterfactuality should be added authorial exclamations like Th. 7.2.4, 'so narrowly did Syracuse escape from danger!' (i.e. 'if only Gongylos in his one ship had arrived a little later with news of the relieving force ...'; cf. 3.49.4, Mytilene). Often such assertions are exaggerated for dramatic effect: it is not likely that either Syracuse in 414 or Hannibal on the eve of Cannae in 216 would have given up so easily.¹²³

¹¹⁹ For a complicated passage containing two counterfactual conditionals about Hannibal's thinking, see 32.3 and n. (and cf. 43.4n.). See also 24.6 and n., another difficult and complicated sentence.

¹²⁰ See Oakley's long n. at 2005a: 184–206, citing 2.1.3–6 at end of n.; Morello 2002; Pelling 2013: 4; Hau 2013: 75–7.

¹²¹ See Hau 2013: 75.

¹²² From Greek historiography, compare Hdt. 7.139 ('what if the Athenians had surrendered to Xerxes?') and Th. 8.96.4 ('what if the Spartans had exploited the revolt from Athens of Euboia in 411 more enterprisingly?'). There is even an unexpected example of counterfactuality in an inscribed decree from early fourth-century Athens, honouring a well-disposed foreigner ('if the generals had believed him, the enemy triremes would have been captured'): see R/O no. 19 (Tod no. 116), on the remarkable counterfactuality of which see Hornblower 2011: 89 n. 70 (an expansion of 1994: 158 n. 70), and now Tordoff 2014: 118.

¹²³ On counterfactual history see Ferguson 1997; Powell 2013 (edited collection) and Tordoff 2014 (on Th., but ranging widely). It is a species of 'sideshadowing', for which notion see Hau 2013, and is related to 'if ... not' presentation, on which see De Jong 1989: 68–81 (Homer) and Nesselrath 1992 ('Beinahe-Episoden' in epic generally).

But the presence of counterfactuality is not in itself a point of difference between imaginative and rhetorically-minded L. and plodding Pol., because the latter also makes counterfactual remarks from time to time.¹²⁴ There are, however, differences. Neither author survives anything like complete,¹²⁵ but on the available evidence it does not appear that Pol. used counterfactual statements for such dramatic and arresting effect as L.'s 'what if the Romans had had to fight Alexander?', or 'what if Hannibal had attacked Rome straight after Cannae?' or 'what if Hannibal had pursued Claudius Nero and prevented the Metaurus victory?'¹²⁶ And there is nothing in Pol. to compare with the sheer scale of the Alexander excursus.¹²⁷

(h) *Speeches*¹²⁸

Ancient historians invented speeches, as Homer had done; Thucydides (1.22), Callisthenes (*FGrHist* 124 F 44), Trogus (Justin 38.3.11) and Polybius were unusual among the historians of antiquity in worrying about the problem of authenticity. Pol. criticises Timaios for recounting speeches which gave what the author thought should have been said rather than what was actually said (12.25a.5, cf. 25b.1); for Pol.'s own claim to report faithfully what was said (or perhaps just the Thucydidean 'general sense' of what was said), see 36.1.6–7. But Pol. (29.12.10) admitted to taking

¹²⁴ For counterfactuals in Pol., see Maier 2012 (citing 1.25.3 and 3.50.4: 'if the Allobroges had kept their project secret, they would have annihilated the whole Carthaginian army') and 2013 (citing 1.20.16 and 3.9.8).

¹²⁵ Thus only a fragment survives of Pol.'s Metaurus narrative (11.1–3).

¹²⁶ For an example from L.'s account of the battle of Thermopylae, see 36.18.8. Others: 27.42.3–4; 29.6.13; 32.12.4, cf. Walsh 1961: 201–2; cf. also Burck 1964: 215.

¹²⁷ In this respect, the nearest comparisons are Hdt. 7.139 or the less often noticed Th. 8.96: see n. 122. But both are much shorter than L. on Alexander.

¹²⁸ L.'s longer speeches are analysed by Ullmann 1927 using the categories of ancient rhetoric, but in a rather mechanical way; and he ignores everything in indirect speech (on which see Lambert 1946 and Laird 1999: 144; cf. 25.3–11n. on Metilius, and 40.1–3n. on Paullus' reply to Fabius). L. glides easily into indirect speech: as well as the examples just cited, see 1.5–7; 34.4–11 and 50.5. On the reasons why an ancient historian might sometimes choose indirect over direct speech see *CT* III 32–5; for two of these see 40.1–3n.

Briscoe 1973: 17–22 is mainly directed at books 31–33, but many of his remarks, e.g. those about Ullmann's methods, are applicable more widely; Luce 1993 is even more critical of Ullmann. For general treatments see Walsh 1961: 219–44 and 2009 [1954]: 212–15 (dialogues) and 215–18 (speeches); and cf. Chaplin and Kraus 2009: 296 (addendum to chapter by the late E. Burck). On speech in the Cannae section in particular see Adema 2019 and Buijs 2019.

some stylistic liberties over speech-reporting, including the use of identical words on different occasions. (With this kind of self-recycling compare L.'s Ducarius at 6.3–4, whose short but striking speech closely and perhaps intentionally recalls that of Cossus to Lars Tolumnius at 4.19.3.) Walbank concluded that Pol. himself was not guilty of large-scale invention, but that an exception has to be made for some pre-battle harangues, notably those at 3.63–4.¹²⁹ That L. invented and embellished speeches, and was untroubled about doing so, is not in dispute. On the introductory *fertur* at 38.13, see 38.13–39.22n.: it may be deliberately misleading, to mask an invention by L.

The range of L.'s speeches is wide, from the huge formal orations to shorter bursts of direct speech (*oratio recta*): examples of the latter are 3.10; 3.13; 6.3–4 (Ducarius, see above); 7.8 (*pugna magna* ...); 22.13–14; 29.8–11 (more of a formal speech than an outburst); 49.7–8 and 9–11; 51.2; 51.4 (in this last passage it is known that L.'s predecessors had speeches; see n. there). For the most part the range is no wider than that of many of his Greek poetic and prose predecessors; but L. sometimes inserts, as Pol. does not, very brief snatches of direct speeches at battle-climaxes (e.g. 6.3–4 Ducarius, 49.3 Hannibal at Cannae). This is a striking feature: even Thucydides uses indirect speech for brief exclamations during battles (4.11.4, 5.65.2, 7.71.4). Jim Adams observes to us that such outbursts tend to have words like *immo* (as at 3.10 and 51.2), *nimirum* and (as at 6.3) *en*.

The ideal way¹³⁰ to examine L.'s speeches in book 22 would be similar to that followed in (b) and (c) and (d) above for the narrative, namely through a detailed comparison of the speeches in L. with their counterparts in Pol. (L. used other, subsidiary, sources as well, cf. section 3, but their fragments do not help with this inquiry). Such a comparison can be done for some of the speeches in books 31–45, using either Pol. himself as a control or (more doubtfully) Diodorus, if the latter can be shown to have reproduced Pol. faithfully enough.¹³¹ Unfortunately, this method will not help much with book 22: although Pol.'s account survives more fully for the period up to and including Cannae than for any other part of the Hannibalic war, there is for the present purpose disappointingly little

¹²⁹ See Walbank 1985: 242–61, esp. 249 and 253–4; Marincola 2001: 128–33. On Pol.'s speeches see also McGing 2010: 86–90.

¹³⁰ So rightly Walsh 2009 [1954]: 215, gently chiding previous research (in 1954) for making insufficient use of this opportunity.

¹³¹ For examples of this approach, see Walsh 2009 [1954]: 212–18; for Diod. 28.11 and L. 32.10.3–7 see his p. 213 (but on Diod. see the reservations of Briscoe 1973: 186, criticising the 1954 version of Walsh's article). See Briscoe 1981: 374–84 for a detailed comparison of the speeches at L. 37.54–55 with Pol. 21.18–24.

overlap between the speeches in the two historians. For those of Minucius in 14 and Fabius in 39, L. seems (not forgetting the possible contribution of his predecessors other than Pol.) to have worked up brief authorial hints in Pol. As for the debate at 59–60, Pol. knew that the ransoming of the Cannae prisoners was controversial, as he reveals at an unexpected place (6.58, at the end of a book-long excursus on Roman institutions); but he records no speeches on the topic. The moving exchange between the dying consul Paullus and Lentulus (49.6–12) is not Polybian. Conversely, Pol. includes conventional battle-exhortations before Cannae (3.108–9, 111, cf. above for Polybian exhortations), which L. does not bother with: see 43.10n., citing Adema 2019. Instead he reports, briefly and in indirect speech, what was allegedly said by Varro and Paullus in *contiones* at Rome before they set out (38.6–12).

L.'s speeches in book 22 must, then, be looked at without the help of Polybian archetypes. (Sallust is a clearer influence: see below for particular features.) Nor are there any relevant inscriptions, such as allow detailed comparisons between what the emperor Claudius actually said at Lugdunum and what Tacitus retained, omitted or adapted (*Ann.* 11.24 with *ILS* 212). L.'s speeches are composed according to good rhetorical practice and theory (see e.g. the introduction to 59). They were perhaps written with a view to recitation, see 16.8n. For example, there is an effective use of *occupatio* (the old trick of an imaginary objection which the speaker then demolishes) at 60.22; see n. there. Fabius the wise warner at 39 has many precursors in ancient rhetoric as recorded by poets and historians; see above, (c).

Visual aspects can be important: Minucius harps on the offensive visibility of the outrages to the Italian countryside caused by Fabian inaction: for the insistent repetition of the *oculi* theme see 14.4n. A speaker's own gestures and body language must sometimes be visualised: variations in apostrophe (direct address to real or imagined interlocutors or addressees) can be bewildering on the page. But, for example, the variations of this sort in Manlius Torquatus' speech would have been easier to follow in recitation if the speaker turned from one side of the imagined *curia* to the other, and even made eye-contact with a key individual. For all this see 60.5–27n. and cf. 59.16n. For a different sort of apostrophe (authorial, addressed to the reader or recitation audience), see 7.12n. on *cerneres*.

Invocations of ancestors were a favourite theme of Roman rhetoric and poetry: see 14.6n. on *degeneramus a patribus nostris* (Minucius); cf. also 60.11n. (Torquatus). But not only Roman: compare Thucydides' Plataeans, plaintively addressing the Spartan 'judges' at 3.58.5.

One opening ploy, which is found at least as far back as the oratory of Thucydides and Demosthenes, and in Sallust and Cicero,¹³² recurs both elsewhere in book 22 and in the whole History: the double hypothetical conditional: ‘if x or y were different, I would do or say z. But as it is (*nunc*, compare Greek *νῦν δέ*) ...’; then follows a pseudo-regretful statement of a recommendation.

¹³² See 39.1–2n. This raises the question, leaving aside Greek parallels in book 1, how well did L. know Greek authors at first hand? It goes without saying that he read Pol.; but he sometimes misunderstood him (Briscoe 2013, and for a possible example in book 22 see 1.3n. on Hannibal’s wigs). There was a Latin as well as a Greek version of Fabius Pictor’s History (section 3 above). For possible awareness of Hdt. on Thermopylae, see 49.10n. and 51.9n., 60.11. In section 4 it was suggested that he was aware of and partially copied Th.’s chronological scheme (and see e.g. 12.11 and 12nn.; for a clear allusion see 45.28.4 with Briscoe 2012a: 698, cf. 678, and Spawforth 2012: 15 n. 18, on the Rhodian speech at 45.23.15, cf. Th. 1.70–1). On L.’s knowledge of Th. generally (perhaps via Ephorus, see Hornblower 2011: 335, or even Ephorus filtered through Diodorus), see Frederiksen 1984: 183 and 199 n. 28; Rodgers 1986, mainly about the relation of L.’s books 28 and 29 to Th. 6; and Hornblower 2011 [1995]: 313 n. 73. For possible particular echoes see 4.1–7.5n. (effect of fog at Trasimene), 12.12n., 23.4n., 39.10n. L. also – like many ancient Greek and Latin authors – knew and admired Xenophon, whose Greek was easier than that of Th. See 39.3n. (lameness metaphor); De Sanctis 1968: 346 thought 23.20.6 (Petelia) was modelled on Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.17. See also 25.37.2 and 26.2: the role of Marcius in far-off Spain, after the deaths of both Scipio brothers, resembles that of Xen. in the *Anabasis*, after the deaths of Cyrus and the Greek generals. The whole of L.’s *erat in exercitu L. Marcius* is, *mutatis mutandis*, a straight tr. of *Anab.* 3.1.4, ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατίᾳ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος κτλ. (a pseudo-introduction, because the reader has met Xen. already). *erat* on its own would be inconclusive because of its popularity as an opening in L. and elsewhere, 22.6n. For the Xen. passage as picked up by L., see Huitink and Rood 2019: 74. They cite further parallels between L. and Xen. *Anab.*: see 2019: 73 for L. 4.28.5, cf. Xen. 3.1.3; 122 for L. 9.23.13, cf. Xen. 3.2.28; 172 (and Rood 2017: 14–16) for L. 7.34.3–8, cf. Xen. 3.4.38–45. See also L. 31.31.18 with *Hell.* 7.4.40. For a complex example of L.’s debt to Xen. (*Hell.* 3.4.16–18, cf. *Ages.* 1.25–7) at 26.51.7–8, see Levene 2010: 92–5: the unattributed allusion to Xen. is from Pol. 10.20.6–7, but L.’s changes to Pol. ‘have the effect of aligning the situation here more directly’ with Xen. On this see also Rood 2017: 19. Generally, Rood is right (see esp. 2017: 24) that the extent of the presence of Xen. in Roman historians has been under-rated by modern scholars.

On cross-refs. in ancient historians, see 24.1n.: Greek as well as Roman practice must be borne in mind.

As for Greek poets, it will be suggested (17.5n.) that L. drew on Apollonius Rhodius or Pindar for a detail of the flaming oxen, perhaps *via* Latin intermediaries, or a mythological handbook of the kind cynically posited by Cameron 2004. For Hesiod, see 29.8n. For the wise warner type in Greek poetry and prose, see 38.13–39.22n.

But on three occasions in the third decade, L. suppresses an explicit Polybian reference to Homer (‘the poet’). See 18.1n., citing Levene 2010: 88–97. At 33.8.14, L.’s *uir uiro, arma armis* is influenced by the quotation of Hom. *Il.* 13.131–3 at Pol. 18.29.6; see Briscoe 1973: 263.

As already noted above (p. 33), the speeches are rich in *exempla*, a form of mini-narrative which makes for variety and vivacity (and which by their factual distortions can be subversive of the speaker). One immediate model for L.'s deployment of such *exempla* was Sallust; see *Cat.* 51 (Caesar's speech, citing several examples from earlier Roman – and some Greek – history) and 52.30 (Cato's speech, instancing Manlius Torquatus). But there were plenty of older models, like the many mythical and (at the end) historical *exempla* in the exchange between Plataeans and Athenians at *Hdt.* 9.26–7, the mythical exempla in the speech of Callias the Torchbearer at *Xen. Hell.* 6.3.6, or the purely historical fifth-century *exempla* at *Aeschin.* 2.75–6. To the modern reader this kind of leisurely insertion makes it particularly hard to take the speeches seriously as authentic utterances, especially when supposedly delivered at moments of vigorous activity or in military and other crises. But perhaps genuine audiences were more tolerant of such improving or persuasive excursions into past Roman history. Minucius' speech at 14.4–14 is particularly rich in *exempla*: the very recent fall of Saguntum in Spain, Camillus and the Gauls, the humiliation at the Caudine Forks and Papirius Cursor's avenging of it; Lutatius Catulus in the First Punic War. After the mention of Saguntum, they are deployed in correct chronological order. Dictatorship is one linking theme: M. Furius Camillus was supposedly dictator on five occasions in the thirty years 396–367 BC. Papirius Cursor was not dictator at the time of the episode mentioned in 14.12, but he had been in earlier years. By a 'neat rhetorical trick' (Chaplin 2000: 44), Minucius turns both the Caudine Forks and Gallic sack, actually national humiliations, into positive *exempla*. For a particular distortion about Saguntum (forgetfulness by L. or a suggestion of deliberate tendentiousness on the part of Minucius), see 14.7n.

Even Torquatus' naggingly repetitious speech against the ransoming of the prisoners is enlivened by two ancient *exempla* (60.11), one of which purports to be a personal reminiscence. But the main *exemplum* of that speech is expanded tendentiously from L.'s own earlier narrative: the attempted break-out led by Sempronius Tuditanus after Cannae. (Both that speech and that to which it replies, the plea of the prisoners' representative, contain many distortions of fact. See e.g. 59.3–6n., 59.5n., 60.7n., 60.10n., 60.11n.)

The function of the speeches is often, as with the speeches in poetic or prose Greek prototypes, to illustrate character or policy. Thus Fabius's speech to Paullus at 39 expounds the case for *cunctatio*; and the traditional family severity of the Manlii Torquati makes the family's latest grim incarnation the perfect speaker for the tough line recommended at 60. For the possibility that the speech includes actual attempts at characterisation of the stern and bitter elderly man, see 60.5–27n. But the characterisation is

not as obvious as, e.g., that of the simple colloquially-spoken soldier Spurius Ligustinus at 42.34 (171 BC), on whose speech, a purely Livian invention, see Briscoe 2012a: 261–7. L. usually ignores the language barrier and gives all his speakers perfect idiomatic Latin; see 6.3–4n., cf. 13.6n.

As well as offering characterisation, the speeches allow a viewpoint on events other than that of the authorial voice for readers to ponder (and speeches may conflict outright with the narrative, see 34.4–11n. for Baebius). The ‘ransom’ speeches at 59–60 are particularly challenging in this respect: whom should we believe? But this is equally true of some of the paired or multiple speeches in Herodotus and Thucydides: Herodotus puts good points into the mouths of all three of the speakers in the ‘Constitutional Debate’ at 3.80–2. And Polybius’ modern interpreters differ sharply as to which, if any, of the four reported opinions about the legitimacy of the sack of Carthage at 36.9 gives Pol.’s own view.

The speeches can play a structural role as well. Retardation, a ‘slowing down of the narrative rhythm ... to add weight and/or increase tension’¹³³ is surely another function of Fabius’ prolix address to Paullus at 39 (on which see further below). The catastrophe of Cannae is just round the corner, and the reader or hearer knows this and is pleasantly excited by the wait.

As for the ‘ransom debate’ at 59–60, its length serves to underline senatorial firmness of resolve at the end of a book of disasters, although L. makes clear that there was wavering in some quarters.

Asyndeton bimembre is specially frequent in speeches – even more so in L. than in Sallust or Tacitus, according to the statistics in Adams forthcoming (he concludes that it was felt to have a powerful rhetorical impact). See section 6 p. 32, and for some good examples see 60.10n. (Torquatus). At 39.13, the prepositional asyndeton *ab domo ab patria* is probably indebted to Sallust (*Iug.* 14.11, *patria domo*): see Adams forthcoming.

One interesting example of asyndeton is the sometimes slangy idiom *abi, nuntia*, ‘go tell’. It is naturally confined to speeches, and its predecessors are to be found in the comedies of Plautus and Terence, where it is used towards slaves and subordinates. See 3.13n. (Flaminius, and cf. 49.10n. for the possible significance of the repetition in the mouth of Paullus).

For balancing units within sentences, a specially common feature of speeches, see section 6, at pp. 28–9, analysing the opening part of Fabius’ speech of warning at 39.

Rhetorical questions – that is questions to which an answer is not seriously expected – convey heightened emotion such as indignation. They

¹³³ De Jong 2001: xvi–xvii.

are, naturally and normally, a feature of speeches (including indirect speeches, see 40.2n. and cf. 34.9 and e.g. 33.27.10–11) rather than of narrative or authorial comment. Here too Sallust is an influence.¹³⁴ In L., there are five in the very unusual excursus about Rome and Alexander the Great at 9.18 (for this chapter, a good candidate for set-piece oral recitation, see (g) above). There are none in the authorial or narrative parts of book 22. But the speeches in the book are full of them. Minucius at 14 uses half a dozen, including an exclamatory *quid?* at §12; Fabius has two at 39 (on the text at §§16–17 see n. there); and there are several in each of the ‘ransom speeches’ at 59–60.

L.’s longer speeches often end with sententious maxims (Greek γνῶμαι): 14.14n. and 39.19–22n. From Sallust, cf. e.g. *Cat.* 58.17 and *Iug.* 31.28. But the rhetorical technique – a final gnomic flourish – is an old one; cf. e.g. Hdt. 7.9γ (Mardonius), Th. 3.48.2 (Diodotus), 6.14 (Nikias).

Agitated features which might be thought characteristic of, or even expected to be confined to, direct speech can also be found in indirect speech; see e.g. 25.7n. on Metilius’ emphasising oath *hercule*.

Finally, for what has been called *dubitatio comparatiua*, a feature of speeches, see 59.14n.

(i) Conclusion: Future Knowledge

The best conclusion to this discussion is to look at L.’s own astonishing conclusion to the Cannae narrative and to book 22 as a whole: a crowd of Romans goes out to meet the surviving consul Varro, who has been constantly fingered hitherto as the villain of the defeat, and they thank him for ‘not despairing of the *res publica*’ (61.14); L. adds in the very final sentence that a Carthaginian general in the same position would not have got off so lightly. The ethnic contrast is an implied tribute to superior Roman strength in adversity. Pol. says nothing about thanks to Varro;¹³⁵ his book 3 closes with explicit praise of the Romans’ constitution, πολιτεῦμα, which enabled them to reverse the outcome of Cannae, and with a promise to describe the Roman πολιτεία¹³⁶ at a later point (in fact, in book 6), on the grounds that it will be relevant to the scheme of the work but also useful for students and statesmen (3.118.10–12). The Loeb edition finds

¹³⁴ For an authorial rhetorical question in one of Sallust’s opening sections see *Iug.* 4.7, and cf. Tacitus’ famous *quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam uidisset?* at *Ann.* 1.3.7. There are only two authorial ones in all Thucydides: 7.44.1 and 8.96.2.

¹³⁵ For Coelius see below, n. 143.

¹³⁶ This noun has a broader range of meanings than πολιτεῦμα: not ‘constitution’ only, but ‘way of life’, including military arrangements, about which book 6 has plenty.

it necessary to spell out in a footnote the real connection of thought here: ‘the constitution provided the reason for survival in Rome’s most serious crisis’.¹³⁷ In their different ways, then, both Pol. and L. end their accounts of Cannae by looking forward to the historiographical *telos* (that is, the eventual destination of the Hannibalic War narrative):¹³⁸ Roman victory at Zama.¹³⁹ There is a metahistorical point here: it is not too fanciful to say that not only is Varro being reported as thanked, but L.’s readers are, at 61.14, being encouraged not to despair of the *res publica*. There are other indicators of the relevant ‘future knowledge’¹⁴⁰ in L.’s text, starting with just two words of the opening chapter of the first book of the decade (21.1.2, where *qui uicerunt* refers to the Romans at Zama). Later in that book (21.46.8), L. discloses that Scipio will take the *cognomen* Africanus *ob egregiam uictoriam* over Hannibal and the Carthaginians i.e. Zama.¹⁴¹ Zama is anticipated again in book 22: ‘the battle in Africa to which Hannibal succumbed’ (54.11);¹⁴² and at 53.6, Scipio is prophetically called the

¹³⁷ Walbank and Habicht 2006: 323 n. 163.

¹³⁸ For the concept of historiographical *telos* see Grethlein 2013: 2–9 and 2016. In this sense, the eventual *telos* of Pol.’s history will be Roman domination by land and sea (1.3.9), and that of L.’s history as a whole will be the establishment of the Augustan principate; but the third decade is a monograph (see p. 16 on 31.1.1) with its own *telos*. Another possible *telos* is the eventual destruction of Carthage in 146, adumbrated at 30.43.12, a HomERICALLY inspired passage, cf. Levene 2010: 99 and 2015b: 206. Less dramatically, 30.40.6 points forward from the war against Hannibal to that against Philip, to be narrated in the next decade. See n. 45.

¹³⁹ The battle-site is not actually named until 30.29.1–2: ‘five days journey from Carthage’.

¹⁴⁰ For future knowledge, a special kind of proleptic statement, see Lianeri 2016 (edited collection), esp. Pausch 2016 for Livy.

¹⁴¹ See also 25.2.6 for another brief anticipatory mention of the *cognomen* Africanus. L. will give more detail about it at the end of the whole decade: see n. 45 on Sulla and Pompey. This is an example of the Homeric technique of increasing precision by which Achilles’ death is foretold (Taplin 1992: 198).

At 52.7, the proleptic statement that Busa was honoured by the senate at the end of the war surely assumes the eventual Roman victory.

¹⁴² Pausch 2016: 315 and n. 18 rightly observes that L. has ‘previewed’ the outcome of Cannae (e.g. *imminentem pestem* at 42.10, cf. Oakley 2019: 162) before it happens. See esp. *urgente fato* at 43.9. The mild prolepsis at 36.4 (anticipating troop numbers at Cannae) is almost inadvertent, and has no particular emotional force. At p. 316 Pausch says that L. ‘only rarely makes use of this method’ (i.e. the explicit revelation of ‘future knowledge’), but he does not consider the more striking, because much more chronologically distant, anticipations of Zama and other contributions to the final victory.

One narrative prolepsis concerns Trasimene and is harder to explain. Clearly the portents which close book 21 and open book 22 anticipate Trasimene. But the decision to narrate the Saturnalia at 1.19 (for which see also n. 165 below) is a striking narrative displacement because L. is explicit that this was in December, well after the battle; see 1.19n. on *Decembri iam mense*. Perhaps he thought the

fatalis dux of the war, although this denomination anticipates his Spanish victories at Ilipa and Baecula as much as Zama. The public expression of thanks to the culpably rash Varro, with its implied optimism about the eventual outcome, forms a brilliant surprise flourish to end the book which had unflinchingly narrated two of Rome's worst defeats and their immediate consequences.¹⁴³ By contrast, Pol.'s promise of the politically usefulness of his own book 6 makes for an unexciting but characteristically serious and didactic closure.

8 RELIGION IN LIVY

(a) Introduction

Roman religion, no less than Greek,¹⁴⁴ was 'embedded'; that is, it was a permanent and pervasive, though not quite ubiquitous,¹⁴⁵ part of the fabric of social, political and military life, not something separate and occasional. It is a consequence of this that to speak of fraudulent or insincere 'manipulation' of religion for political purposes is an error, if that is taken to imply that religion was somehow discredited by 'being mixed up in political action in an undesirable way'.¹⁴⁶ It is also no longer respectable to say that there was a gradual and unreversed dwindling in readiness to

Saturnalia made for a satisfying climax to the long religious section. For another remarkable prolepsis see 23.3n.

L. can achieve a significant prolepsis by a single word: see 18.10n. on *neququam*, which anticipates Fabius' rescue of Minucius from his folly.

¹⁴³ To be sure, the episode was already in Coelius (61.14n.), but that does not affect the present point, which concerns L.'s decision to make this item the book-closure.

¹⁴⁴ For the embeddedness of Greek religion, see Eidinow 2015, with acknowledgment to Robert Parker, who was in turn applying a concept taken from the economic history of the ancient world. For Roman religion, see e.g. Woolf 2003 [1997]: 42: religion 'homologous with the political and social'; North 1997: 65 ('no separation').

¹⁴⁵ For reservations about the idea that 'more or less everything was "religious"' or that 'everything was somehow connected to religion', (that is, at Rome), see Rüpke 2007a: 7–8.

¹⁴⁶ Woolf (as at n. 144); North 1997: 65, whence the quotation; see generally Liebeschuetz 1979. See also Champion 2017. Such approaches put the emphasis on the activities and attitudes of elites, whereas the most recent, cognitive, approach to ancient religion seeks to shift the emphasis to individuals. Some of the innovations mentioned below are the result of initiatives by individuals, but they are all elite figures. Non-elite religion features in book 22 mainly in the context of senatorial curbing of emotional reactions (such as the perhaps surprising neglect of the cult of Ceres after Cannae) and outbursts; for all of this see (e).

take religion seriously during the course of Roman Republican history (on this, the problem of religious 'decline', see further below).¹⁴⁷

L.'s History is – even in the badly truncated form in which it has survived – the single most important literary source for the religion of the middle Roman Republic,¹⁴⁸ and is also important evidence for religious attitudes in L.'s own time; and religion is now central to the study of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds.¹⁴⁹ These two factors in combination help to explain why there are so many excellent recent studies of L. and religion.¹⁵⁰ L. was well aware of what he was doing when he sought to recapture the religion of periods which were centuries earlier than his own lifetime. In a much-discussed defensive passage late in the surviving part of his History, he remarks both on the negligent attitude in his own day which, he says, cause people to disbelieve that the gods issue portents, and on the resulting failure of historians to register portents. He goes on to say that his own mind somehow takes on an antique character as he writes about ancient history, and that he thinks it worth recording

¹⁴⁷ For a protest against 'decline' see already Weinstock 1961: 208–10, part of a critical review of Latte 1960; see further Liebeschuetz 1979: 20, 31, cf. 3; Beard, North and Price 1998: I 12–13, 117–19, 125–9. The idea of Roman religious decline was most authoritatively expressed by Wissowa 1912, still the best and fullest handbook. See Wissowa 2003 (in Ando 2003) for an Eng. tr. of the narrative sections (for 'decline' see 2003: 341). Ando himself suggests that Wissowa was not so wrong after all and may end up being vindicated: 'Roman religion as it was practised in the mid-Republic did disappear – it did not merely change – and Wissowa was surely right in his instinct that this failure had its roots in the late Republic, and not in any conflict with Christianity' (Ando 2003: 295).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Davies 2004: 21. A crude indicator: in the 'index of texts cited' at Beard, North and Price 1998 II (the sourcebook vol. of their history of a thousand years of the religions of Rome): 405–9, there are twenty-one passages from L.; of literary sources, only Cicero comes at all close (fourteen passages). Of sources of all types, *ILS* scores highest with twenty-nine. On L.'s own 'annalistic' sources (n. 38) for his records of religious decisions, see Beard, North and Price 1998: I 76.

Pol. included religion in book 6, which shows he grasped its crucial role in the Roman way of life (although ch. 56.6–15 on elite manipulation of the masses is unsatisfactory). But except for an interesting discussion of Roman aristocratic funerals (chs. 53–4) he gives little detail. See section 7 p. 34 for Pol.'s omission of prodigies and their expiation in his Trasimene narrative, and cf. 9.7–10.10n. Pol. 3.112.8–9 (before Cannae) is an exception, see 36.6–8n. (p. 42).

¹⁴⁹ See Henrichs 1999: 223 on the 'revalidation of myth and, indeed, of religion as fundamental vehicles for historical inquiry' over the quarter-century since he began writing. The move of religion from scholarly periphery to centre has speeded up even further since then.

¹⁵⁰ See esp. Liebeschuetz 2009 [1967, but with a valuable Addendum at 377–9]; Levene 1993; Linderski 1993; Beard, North, and Price 1998: I 38, 76–7; Davies 2004 with Levene 2006 (important review); Feeney 2007b: 138–40; Scheid 2015. Many acute comments about L. are scattered through the Republican parts of Liebeschuetz 1979.

what wise men thought worth public attention.¹⁵¹ On the face of it, this certainly implies decline in belief in portents by L.'s own time. But (as has often been noticed),¹⁵² elite attitudes, as expressed by Cicero, Caesar and other sophisticated writers, may not have been widely shared by the population at large, or in the army. And L.'s own comment about contemporary failure to report and record portents implies that he thought they continued to occur. (See further (b) below.)

L.'s own religious beliefs will not, however, be examined here. The surprising and contradictory variety of modern views on the subject¹⁵³ resembles the views held about another historian who provides plentiful and precious evidence for religion: Herodotus.¹⁵⁴ Instead, this section will try to illustrate the place of religion in L.'s presentation of what, *for the Romans*, were the two most acute crisis years of the Second Punic War, the years of Trasimene and Cannae.¹⁵⁵ The restriction implied by the italicised words is unavoidable. The religion of Hannibal and the Carthaginians is naturally, given L.'s sources, much less accessible. L.'s opening sketch of Hannibal (21.4.9) owes much to Sallust, excluding the sweeping statement of his irreligiosity.¹⁵⁶ But the whole is a piece of rhetoric¹⁵⁷ which would have made for a good recital piece, and is contradicted by some of the narrative which follows: for example Hannibal is shown sacrificing and seeking divine guidance.¹⁵⁸ Again, in the ancient world from Homer

¹⁵¹ 43.13.1–2 (cf. 9.8n.) with Briscoe 2012a: 428, who suggests that L. made the comment here rather than in e.g. book 21 because someone had criticised his practice of inclusion, or perhaps because he had read a recent work of history which excluded portents. See also Linderski 1993: 53 and Scheid 2015: 79.

¹⁵² See e.g. Walsh 1961: 46–7; Liebeschuetz 1979: 33–4; Linderski 1993: 54.

¹⁵³ Against earlier attempts to show that L. was either a sceptic or a believer (for doxography see Scheid 2015: 78), Levene 1993, cf. 2006: 419, sees him as an artfully inconsistent blend of the two. Davies 2004 argues (see e.g. 61) that L. usually 'validates', but sometimes 'undermines' religious phenomena. (Cf. Liebeschuetz 2009: 378–9.) An approach on these lines may help to explain why L. can report the religious measures after Cannae with traces of a scepticism absent from his post-Trasimene narrative: see 9.7–10.10n. See also (b) below: the list of prodigies and expiatory measures at the end of book 21 is presented more sceptically than that which opens book 22. This does not mean that L. suddenly became less sceptical between the two books. He writes partly for effect.

¹⁵⁴ Scullion 2006: 204–5.

¹⁵⁵ Warde Fowler 1911: 314–34 is still useful not only as a narrative account of religion in the Hannibalic war but for its many shrewd observations.

¹⁵⁶ Levene 2010: 100–1.

¹⁵⁷ Not only the repetition of the key words (anaphora), but the asyndeton: a five-membered asyndeton, or, perhaps, a two-membered (*nihil ueri, nihil sancti*), followed by a three-membered (*nullus ... religio*).

¹⁵⁸ Hornblower 2018: 110–11, citing e.g. 24.12.4 and 13.6 (his sacrifice at the oracle of the dead at Avernus). For his attention to dreams, see 21.22.6–9 with Levene 1993: 45 and Harris 2009: 198 and n. 444; Cic. *Diu.* 1.48–9 = Coelius *FRHist* 15F8, 32. For dreams in L. see further below, (c) and for Pol. see n. 213.

onwards, correct treatment of the dead was a solemn religious duty, and its neglect was offensive to the gods as well as to men.¹⁵⁹ In this respect Hannibal, who sought out the bodies of fallen Roman commanders for decent or even magnificent burial (Flaminius, Paullus, Marcellus), was far less impious than Claudius Nero, who threw the head of Hasdrubal before his brother's camp.¹⁶⁰ L. makes no comment on this disgusting act, nor does he point the contrast with Hannibal; he did not need to. As for oath-breaking (part of the indictment at 21.4), 'Punic fraud' and other such sneers are indeed a running theme of the third decade: see 6.12n. and 48.1n.; and above, section 7(e). But after Cannae some Romans, at least, were willing to play with the formal requirements of an oath, although the perpetrators were in the end severely judged by their peers (see 61.4n. on *fallaci reditu*).

In Roman religious history, the third century appears in modern works as a period of religious innovation¹⁶¹ (see esp. (e) below for the introduction of new gods and cults), and the opening years of the war against Hannibal have been seen as particularly important in this respect. The loss of L.'s second decade, however, makes it hard to be sure exactly how much is new in the third. For example, L.'s first decade does not include the regular prodigy lists found in and after book 21, the start of the third decade;¹⁶² in between, Julius Obsequens' collection of L.'s prodigy lists began only with a list for 249 BC, i.e. from Livy book 19, towards the end of the missing second decade.¹⁶³ But the change in the middle of the third century could be explained in various ways, and is not likely to indicate a fundamental shift in religious attitudes or procedures.¹⁶⁴ Again, the

¹⁵⁹ To give only the most famous example, the gods disapproved of Achilles' mutilation of Hector's corpse, and Apollo preserved it from defilement (*Il.* 24.18–20). For *invidia* at Philip V's failure to bury the Macedonian dead after Cynoscephalae, see L. 36.8.3–4 (Polybian); cf. Alcaeus of Messene's bitter epigram, *HE* 26–33. A reported second-century definition of impiety, ἀσεβημα, included sins against the dead, τὸ περὶ ... τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἀμαρτάνειν: Pol. 36.9.15. For Roman piety to war-dead see e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.61–2.

¹⁶⁰ See 7.5n. on *funeris causa*. Claudius Nero: 27.51.11.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Beard, North and Price 1998: I 80 'the list of innovations [in L.'s third decade] is very impressive'. At 88–91 they detect, in the second century BC, a swing back to religious conservatism after the adventurousness of the third century (this had mainly taken the form of the introduction of foreign gods and cults).

¹⁶² Occasionally individual prodigies are reported. On the first, a rain of stones in the Alban hills (1.31.2–4), see Rosenberger 2007: 294.

¹⁶³ The surviving text of Obsequens begins at 190 BC, but the title of his prodigy collection included the date *ab urbe condita DV*, i.e. 249.

¹⁶⁴ Beard, North and Price 1998: I 38–9: perhaps there was no more than a change in recording practice. The lists were probably kept by the *pontifices*, and prodigies featured in the *annales maximi* (for which see 10.2–6n.). Cf. Cato *FRHist*

elaborate *lectisternium* or banquet for the gods ordained at 10.9 (in 217, after Trasimene) was of a much larger order of magnitude than that of 399 BC (5.13.6).¹⁶⁵ It included a more prominent Greek aspect (more or less all the twelve Greek Olympians now featured, paired off according to gender), so that this moment has even been called a ‘turning-point in the religious history of Rome’.¹⁶⁶ But the basic institution was already there (see also 21.62.8 for a *lectisternium* at Caere). Similarly, the Saturnalia of December 217 (n. 165) was not in itself a novelty, as L. might easily be taken to say at 1.19–20 (see 2.21.1 for its first celebration in 498); but it did include several new features, such as the addition of the *lectisternium* as part of the festival, and a public party or *conuiuium* (see 1.19–20n., also discussing the ‘Greek rite’). As for the *uer sacrum* or ‘sacred spring’ decreed after Trasimene (9.10; the vow is described in archaic or archais-ing language at 10), it is not easy to say whether it was genuinely ancient and taken over from Sabellic ritual (as the Romans themselves believed), or a kind of invented tradition, a pseudo-revival at a moment of crisis.¹⁶⁷

The sacrifice of a male and female Gaul and a male and female Greek after Cannae shocked L. as one of a number of *sacrificia extraordinaria* made at that time.¹⁶⁸ His language thus far implies something unprecedented, and the action might therefore be seen as a horrifying departure taken in the black mood after Cannae; but that impression is immediately negated by the words which introduce the further comment that the site of the killing had already, *iam ante*, been stained, *imbutum*, by an un-Roman human sacrifice, *minime Romano sacro*; this happened in 228.¹⁶⁹

Wissowa even thought that between the First and Second Punic Wars, the Sibylline books had ordered the killing of 27 *Argei* (Greeks?), and that this was actually done; in his view the ritual by which straw puppets were thrown over a bridge was a survival of the drowning of the same number

5F80, *FRHist* I 150, 158 (Rich), III 128 (Cornell). Rosenberger 2007: 294 thought that the lists were kept by the senate, but this is less likely.

¹⁶⁵ A *lectisternium* is mentioned at 1.19–20 as part of the Saturnalia. In L.’s narrative it comes before Trasimene, but the specification of the month of December shows that in real time it was some time after the battle. See n. 142 for this striking prolepsis and displacement.

¹⁶⁶ See 10.9nn. Cf. Warde Fowler 1911: 319. For Wissowa 1912: 60, the year 217 was the most important in the history of Roman religion.

¹⁶⁷ Palmer 1997: 123 n. 22 argued, from the fact that the *pontifices* required the praetor to bring a bill to an assembly, that there was a precedent. See also Beard, North and Price 1998: II 155: undecided as to the origin and antiquity of the ritual.

¹⁶⁸ But he was not so shocked by the killing of the Vestals, because that was done according to *patrius ritus*. MacBain 1982: 62.

¹⁶⁹ See 57.6nn. for the interpretation given above (the precise meaning of the Latin is disputed).

of Greeks.¹⁷⁰ But it has been objected that such a slaughter would have left a mark in the tradition (not quite a compelling argument where the third century before 220 is concerned), and the usual view today is that the Argei were never more than puppets, at least in the historical period.¹⁷¹ The Argei remain enigmatic.¹⁷² As for the human sacrifice definitely recorded by L. after Cannae (and disapproved of by him, see 57.7n. on *placatis, ut rebantur, deis*), fear of Gauls is understandable and perennial. But the Greeks are a puzzle, especially when Fabius Pictor is simultaneously being sent to Delphi: neither Greeks nor (at this stage) Macedonians posed a threat to Rome in 216, and that might be evidence that the ritual looked back to an earlier period when they did. It has been suggested¹⁷³ that the ritual might have derived from the Etruscans, who faced Gauls as enemies to their north and Greeks to their south.

The choice of the bilingual¹⁷⁴ historian Fabius Pictor to consult Apollo's oracle at Delphi after Cannae was strikingly appropriate; but there are believable precedents for Delphic consultations by Rome, whether led by bilingual intellectuals or not, from very much earlier in the history of the Republic (57.5n.). On this mission, and its relation to the Sibylline books, see further below (*d*).

The temples to Venus Erycina and to Mens, voted in 217, do seem to be genuine novelties; see again (*d*) below for possible explanations. On the other hand, the introduction of new or imported cults, especially at times of crisis and public anxiety, was not itself a novelty in the last quarter of the third century: in the 290s one or both of the Ogulnii brothers, 'conspicuous reformers', were responsible not only for the erecting of a statue of the she-wolf with the founder-twins Romulus and Remus, but also for bringing the healing-hero Asclepius/Aesculapius from Greece in time of plague.¹⁷⁵

To sum up: the impression of an unusually charged religious atmosphere at Rome in the disastrous years of Trasimene and Cannae, and of unusually drastic steps taken by the authorities, is no doubt as correct as it

¹⁷⁰ See Plut. *Roman questions* nos. 32 and 86 with Rose 1924: 98–101; for the other ancient sources see Scullard 1981: 120. Plut. certainly thought the ritual originated in actual homicide.

¹⁷¹ Wissowa 1912: 420–1; against this interpretation (which had already been argued for by Wissowa in his first edn of 1902), see Warde Fowler 1911: 321–2; Rose (as in previous n.); Latte 1960: 412–14, 'Die Argeerfrage'; Scullard 1981: 121.

¹⁷² 'One of the knottiest problems of Roman religious lore', according to Skutsch 1985: 267.

¹⁷³ See again 57.6n., citing Latte 1960: 257. See also MacBain 1982: 62–4, comparing Hdt. 1.167 for human sacrifice by Etruscans, and cf. Eckstein 1982: 81.

¹⁷⁴ But the Latin version of his history may have been by someone else: *FRHist* I 164–5.

¹⁷⁵ L. 10.23.12 and 10.47.6–7; quotation from Feeney 1998: 54.

is unsurprising, although the impression must owe something to L.'s decision where and how to devote extra space and emphasis as a rhetorical amplification, αὔξησις, of the dominant disaster theme. But the religious 'innovations' themselves were, like other developments in Hellenistic religion, new grafts on an old stock.

(b) *Prodigies*¹⁷⁶

Discussion of religious specifics may begin, as L. began his book 22 (and ended book 21, though not in the same year),¹⁷⁷ with prodigies and (at (c) below) the measures taken to expiate them. Unless for some reason more prodigies were reported and remembered at this time, the length and elaboration of these lists is the result of an authorial intention to presage the disasters which will dominate the book, most proximately Trasimene.¹⁷⁸ There is a progressive and carefully managed escalation of fear, because the longer prodigy list in book 22 does not conclude with a comment that the various expiations went far to alleviate anxiety; contrast the happy closural formula at 21.62.11.¹⁷⁹ Nor does the list in book 22 open with an authorial comment that many prodigies were not only reported but 'too easily believed', *temere credita*, as at 21.62.1; L. merely says (1.8) that fears were increased by the many prodigy reports. The total accumulation of this virtually juxtaposed mass of prodigy-related material is impressive and sinister, but – as mentioned above – L. had already begun to include such lists in book 19, so the scale of any increase (and an increase is likely enough) cannot be determined precisely. The aim of expiation was to restore disrupted relations between gods and men, after prodigies had announced disruption; so the defeat at Trasimene showed that the gods had not been appeased. See 4.1–7.5n.¹⁸⁰ for the other more or less loud

¹⁷⁶ See esp. MacBain 1982; Rosenberger 1998 and 2007; Davies 2004: 28–58. Of older works, see esp. Luterbacher 1904 and Wülker 1903.

¹⁷⁷ The list at 21.62 is not quite at the end of the book, but L. does contrive to end it with a single incident of bad omen, a sacrificial calf which splattered the bystanders with blood, and pointed the finger of blame inescapably at Flaminius: 21.63.14–15. A further and longer list of prodigies and expiatory measures is placed very soon after the opening of book 22 (1.8–20).

¹⁷⁸ See 1.8–20n., with modern refs. Against Levene 1993: 17–37 (L. used prodigies as a literary device) see Beard, North and Price 1998: I 38 n. 111, who counter that the accounts are 'generally spare and factual in style', not elaborated into 'horror stories'. But they accept that their placing might be manipulated. And surely it must also be conceded that L. was not obliged to record everything he found in lists (see 57.2 and n.), so that fullness of coverage is itself a literary device and choice, as is its opposite, selectivity.

¹⁷⁹ See the opening n. to the whole of book 22.

¹⁸⁰ And see 4.2n. on *loca nata insidiis*, citing Oakley 2005a: 13–16 (9.1.1–16.9n.)

narrative hints that the gods wanted Rome to fail – for a while.¹⁸¹ But only for a while: the description of Scipio after Cannae as the *fatalis dux huiusce belli* indicates the ‘special care of providence for the Roman people’.¹⁸²

The prodigies before Cannae are reported much more briefly than those before Trasimene; see 36.6–8n. (and n. 148 for Pol.). So are the expiatory measures after the battle (57), but two of these are spectacular, the mission of Fabius Pictor to Delphi and the human sacrifice.

To count as a prodigy, an unusual occurrence needed to be reported to a magistrate such as a consul or praetor and then accepted as such by the senate, after it had heard witnesses, *auctores*.¹⁸³ Prodigies might themselves be natural disasters like the lightning which killed soldiers at 1.9 (and see 36.8), or like earthquakes;¹⁸⁴ or they might be events which threatened the natural order or violated normally perceived boundaries;¹⁸⁵ thus the hen which turned into a rooster and vice versa (1.13, compare the hermaphroditic lamb at 28.11.3: Caere) transgressed the boundary between male and female, like a human hermaphrodite.¹⁸⁶ If a wolf entered a city (as at

for explanations such as divine anger and difficult terrain as preferable to an admission of incompetent generalship (for an expression of exactly this attitude see Fabius at 9.7). It is important that the religiously negligent consul Flaminius has already been presented as ‘at war not only with the senate but with the immortal gods’ as his critics splendidly put it (21.63.6). See Scheid 2015: 83 on ‘piety in the face of impiety’, where Flaminius is one of those in L.’s history who neglect ‘the honors to which the gods have a right’. Others cited by Scheid are Pleminius and Fulvius Flaccus. (But it is not quite true of the guilty Flaminius that he suffers a ‘shameful death’: on the contrary, he goes down fighting bravely, 6.1–4.) Scheid might have added P. Claudius Pulcher for his impious treatment of the omen of the sacred chickens in the First Punic War; see 42.9n. and (c) below.

¹⁸¹ See also 43.9n. on *urgente fato*. Levene 2019 puts much weight on this passage as showing that L.’s view of Varro was mixed: at 61.14 Varro is described as the cause of the defeat at Cannae, but at 43.9 L. treats fate as responsible. But (a) the focalisation of 61.14 is not quite clear: arguably, L. is giving not his own view but that of the Roman *ciuitas* (see 61.14n. on *cuius ... fuisset*), and (b) in Greek thought at least, the gods work their will through an individual, but the individual is not thereby absolved from responsibility.

¹⁸² See 53.6 and n., citing Liebeschuetz 2009 [1967]: 371 (whence the quotation above), who shows, however, that the same phrase at 30.28.12, again about Scipio, works rather differently.

¹⁸³ See 1.14. For the whole procedure, Rosenberger 2007: 293. The senate might reject a prodigy; see Davies 2004: 75, with examples.

¹⁸⁴ But on the earthquake during the battle of Trasimene (5.8) see 4.1–7.5n.: it was simultaneous with the battle, and L. does not treat it as a prodigy. Contrast perhaps Coelius’ handling (*FRHist* 15F14b).

¹⁸⁵ This line of explanation resembles Mary Douglas’ analysis of religious pollution, applied to the Greek world by Parker 1983; see Douglas 1966. Cf. Rosenberger 1997: 103–26 on ‘loss of order’; explicitly acknowledging Douglas at 114 n. 135, but also influenced by Clifford Geertz (his p. 103).

¹⁸⁶ See also Davies 2004: 30.

27.37.3),¹⁸⁷ it crossed and confused the boundary between the wild and the civilised.¹⁸⁸ *stuprum*, illicit sex, by and with a Vestal Virgin was another obvious confusion of categories, and was in L.'s words a 'disaster, *clades*, which was turned into a prodigy', i.e. it was treated as one (57.3–4).¹⁸⁹

Prodigies are not themselves prophecies.¹⁹⁰ (The nearest approximation to one¹⁹¹ in book 22 is at 1.11, the shrunken oracular lot bearing the message 'Mauors [Mars] brandishes his spear', but this is also the most suspiciously likely to have been manufactured *post euentum*.¹⁹² L. lists it among prodigies, but the message itself might better be classified as a portent, in the modern sense of the word.)¹⁹³ The will of the gods was determined only later, after prodigies had been reported and considered by the authorities, above all by the senate. (This might even include acceptance of dream-reports: see Coelius *FRHist* 15F48.) Divination was then resorted to as a means to discover what expiatory action would be appropriate, and divination will accordingly be the subject of the next sub-section.¹⁹⁴

(c) Divination¹⁹⁵ and Dreams

The usual next step¹⁹⁶ after the senate had decided that the prodigies should be expiated, *procurarentur*, was (if the matter looked serious

¹⁸⁷ For the structural parallel between the multiple prodigies in books 22 and 27, see section 4(b).

¹⁸⁸ For a typology of prodigies and expiation rituals and their explanations, see Rosenberger 2007: 295–6; cf. 294 for the way some types of prodigy occur only in short periods.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Davies 2004: 38 n. 41.

¹⁸⁹ Rosenberger 2007: 96.

¹⁹¹ It was not much of a prophecy if (as is likely) it was reported after the war had started. For another prodigy which might have been interpreted very topically see 1.9n. on *pugnantem* ... (the sun = Rome, the moon = Carthage; cf. Rosenberger 1997: 97).

¹⁹² But Krauss 1930 should not be followed in his persistent efforts to rationalise all prodigies away or to regard them as *post euentum*; so rightly Rosenberger 2007: 295.

¹⁹³ Latin *portentum* implies futurity, by its derivation from *portendo*, see *OLD* under both words, but one of its senses (*OLD* 2) was 'prodigy'. *prodigium* is, however, L.'s normally preferred word, though see e.g. Scipio's speech at 28.27.16 for *portentum*.

¹⁹⁴ The entry 'prodigies (see also divination)' in the thematic index at Rüpke 2007a: 338 is eloquent. See his pp. 228–31 on crisis management.

¹⁹⁵ This sub-section will not consider in detail the strange episode in 212 of the two prophecies of a seer called Marcius (25.12.2–13), the first of which purported to prophesy the disaster at Cannae on 'the plain of Diomedes' (for this detail cf. Hornblower 2018: 78 n. 188); Beard, North and Price 1998: II 182–3. The matter was abnormal, but was typically and reassuringly dealt with in the normal way, by referral to the *decemviri* who consulted the Sibylline books. See further n. 201, and Briscoe forthcoming. This Marcius is not the military tribune at p. 71 below.

¹⁹⁶ The occasional summoning to Rome of the Etruscan seers known as the

enough, see below) for consultation of the Sibylline books by the *decemviri sacris faciundis*, a board of priests with ritual responsibilities: originally two (L. 5.13.6) then ten at the time of the Hannibalic war (1.16n.), and eventually fifteen (*quindecemviri*); the most famous *quindecemvir* was the historian Tacitus. At 1.16 and elsewhere (36.6, 57.4 and 21.62.6), L. just calls them ‘the books’, *libri*, and ‘the verses’, *carmina*,¹⁹⁷ but sometimes in the third decade he spells out that they were ‘Sibylline’ (21.62.11; 9.8; 29.10.4),¹⁹⁸ as does the *periocha* to book 22. The Sibyl, who had her Italian home at Campanian Cumae, was an immigrant from Greece or rather Asia Minor (those from Marpessus near Troy and Ionian Erythrae both claimed seniority), and this origin was never forgotten: when the books were accidentally destroyed in the fire which burnt down the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in 83 BC, an embassy consisting of three of the *decemviri* was sent to Erythrae in 76 for replacements.¹⁹⁹ The books were wholly distinct²⁰⁰ from the ‘Sibylline Oracles’, apocalyptic Greek-Jewish hexameter poems, the earliest of which at least (the Third, mid second century BC) has a strongly anti-Roman character;²⁰¹ but the same Sibyl was thought of as looking after Rome through the medium of her books.

The Sibylline books were consulted by the *decemviri*, on the instructions of the senate, in particularly grave situations (cf. above).²⁰² The books were then found to make recommendations. The books themselves might make these recommendations (as they do for the frightful human sacrifice at 57.6, for which see (a) above, and as they did in 292 when they recommended the bringing of Aesculapius from Epidaurus, 10.47.6–7). To this extent, their function corresponds to that of a Greek oracular sanctuary such as Delphi, Olympia, Dodona or Branchidae. (Curiously there was no such prestigious sanctuary in the Greek-speaking colonial regions of either S. Italy or Sicily, which is one prosaic reason why Romans needed to cross the Adriatic to seek divine advice from one. Dodona and Olympia were the nearest but did not have quite the oracular cachet of Delphi.)

haruspices (for whom see *OCD*¹ and MacBain 1982: 42–59) will not be covered here. *haruspices* accompanied Republican armies, as at 23.36.1; see Oakley 1998: 434 (8.6.12n.) for their role in the interpretation of the dream of the consuls in 340 BC (for this see n. 216).

¹⁹⁷ For the text here, see n. on the passage.

¹⁹⁸ On 25.12.11, see Briscoe’s OCT app. (2016). With the transmitted text there is an ellipse of *libros*. Macrobius, whose source was L. and who therefore constitutes an indirect tradition for the text, has *libros Sibyllinos*. The *editio princeps* added *libros*.

¹⁹⁹ Fenestella *FRHist* 70F19a–b; cf. *MRR* II 95.

²⁰⁰ Parke 1988: 137.

²⁰¹ See Hornblower 2018: 125–45. The first of the two Marcian prophecies (n. 195) is a rant which has more the flavour of a Sibylline Oracle, the second has more the flavour of a recommendation by the Sibylline books.

²⁰² See 9.8 (Fabius Maximus) with Davies 2004: 67 and 89 n. 8, cf. 95.

The most obvious and usual interpretation of L. at 57.6 is that there were two separate senatorial decisions: to instruct the *decemviri* to consult the Sibylline books; and – as already noted in (a) above – to send a mission to Delphi (compare n. 203 for the ostensibly and perhaps suspiciously independent consultations in 205). This is the apparent force of the opening *et* in L.'s words *et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est* at 57.5.²⁰³ But it is surely possible that by *et*²⁰⁴ L. means 'and as a result', i.e. the Sibylline books themselves, at this grave moment, advised the consultation of Apollo at Delphi.²⁰⁵ That is, one powerful divinatory source of authority referred the matter to another. This is compatible with Greek religion, at least. On a famous occasion, a Spartan king sought a second opinion from Apollo at Delphi because he did not like what he had been told by Zeus at Olympia ('Do you agree with your father?' he asked Apollo, and was told that he most certainly did: Agesipolis at Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.2). But on that occasion the initiative came from the dissatisfied consultant, whereas in 216 the Sibylline books themselves (on the view here suggested) refer the matter to Delphi. There are, however, closer analogies: in Euripides' *Ion*, which in several ways reflects actual oracular conventions, the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea forwarded Xuthus to Apollo at Delphi, while conversely the Pythia, according to Pausanias, forwarded Aristomenes to Trophonius; and there is historical evidence for someone asking Zeus and Dione at Dodona whether to seek oracular consultation elsewhere, and

²⁰³ Both Delphi and the Sibylline books feature in the account of the bringing of the Idaean Magna Mater from Pessinus near the end of the war, in 205 (29.10–11, see (d) below; *MRR* I 304; Levene 1993: 67–72). But that was importantly different, at least on the face of it. As L. narrates the affair, the books did not ordain that Delphi be consulted. A delegation happened to be at Delphi bringing a gift, and Apollo had provided the sacrificing delegates with an oracle. The books were consulted because of a shower of stones, and its advice ('bring the Idaean Mater') moved the senate all the more, *eo magis patres mouit* (29.10.6), because of the Delphic oracle which had just been received, apparently independently. The coincidence may seem incredible without supposing collusion of some sort, but that is what L. says. See Parke 1988: 201–2.

Plut. *Fab.* 18.3 mentions only Pictor's mission to Delphi; no mention of the Sibylline books as such in the ch., merely the statement that everything advised by the seers, οἱ μάντις, was done. App. *Hann.* 27 just says that the senate sent Fabius the historian to Delphi to inquire about the situation. All these testimonia about Fabius' mission, including its outcome at L. 23.11, are collected as *FGrHist* 809T3a–d; see also *FRHist* 1T3a–c and T4 (the response). There is no commentary in either work, however. Jacoby died before writing one, and *FRHist* does not comment separately on testimonia.

²⁰⁴ For *et* as 'adding a subsequent or consequent event or situation' see *OLD* 16.

²⁰⁵ This idea might be strengthened if Pictor was himself a *decemuir*, but see *FRHist* I 161 n. 3 for reservations about this.

generally for co-operation between oracular authorities.²⁰⁶ It might be relevant to 57.6 that in some traditions the Sibyl was supposed to be the sister (or wife, or daughter) of Apollo.²⁰⁷ The above hypothesis would be strengthened if the two consultations of 205 BC were not independent, and it is tempting to discount L.'s sequence of events and to conclude that they were not.

Be that as it may, the story of Fabius Pictor's mission is resumed at 23.11.1–6, where the narrative style is ample but the religious details vaguely given: Apollo specified – as L. does not – the gods and goddesses who should be supplicated; there follows a translation by Fabius Pictor himself of the flowery but equally vague Greek verse (hexameter) response of the oracle; this ends with a request for gifts of booty and a warning against *lasciua*, lack of restraint, i.e. Übermut (W–M), excessive confidence.²⁰⁸ The omniscient god (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.44–9) appears to know the war's outcome, at a moment when it was far from obvious.

The particular expiatory rituals and measures ordained in response to the various prodigies are discussed in the commentary. One of these may be singled out, the vow of the *uer sacrum* at 9.9–10.6 (see also section (a) above), which is remarkable in every way, including philological.²⁰⁹ The repeated provisions at 10.4 and 6, that *probe factum esto*, are interesting for their apparent implication that men not gods can be in a position to decide whether a ritual is or is not correctly performed.²¹⁰

Pre-battle divinatory rituals feature in the narrative prelude to Cannae: see 42.8n. for the augury known as the *tripudium*. If the sacred chickens did not eat, that was a bad omen. Varro grudgingly respected it on that occasion, because he had in mind the fate of the impious Flaminius in

²⁰⁶ See Bonnechere 2010: 125–6 and n. 41. For Trophonius see *Ion* 404–9, cf. 300–2. (But as noted by Eidinow 2019: 51 n. 36, the main passage is not straightforward because Trophonius has already given a response, although of an enigmatic sort, lines 408–9. In any case, lines 300–2 are clear that Xuthus consulted both the oracles, one after the other.) Aristomenes: Paus. 4.16.7. Dodona inquirer: Eidinow 2007: 122 no. 2 = Dakaris, Votokopoulou and Christidis 2013: I 493 no. 2128B (450–425 BC). For co-operation between oracles generally see Eidinow 2014: 71–6.

²⁰⁷ Paus. 10.12.2; see Parke 1988: 26–7. For the connexion between the Sibyl and Delphi, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1931–2: II 34 and n. 1.

²⁰⁸ The response is Fontenrose 1978: H48.

²⁰⁹ In view of the difficulty of its language, a full translation is, exceptionally, provided in the commentary.

For the vowing of the *uer sacrum* of 217 BC in relation to its implementation in 195 (33.44.1–2) and perhaps also the peculiarities of the colonising activity of the 190s, see the suggestions at Hornblower 2018: 190 n. 23.

²¹⁰ For discussion and explanation of this, see North 2000: 38.

the previous year, and (further back in time) that of P. Clodius Pulcher in 249 BC (see 42.9n. and above n. 180). For divination by *auspicia* see 1.5n.

Dreams of the epiphany or messenger type – very commonly reported in antiquity, very rarely in the modern western world²¹¹ – were a means by which gods of both sexes or other supernatural apparitions were commonly believed to communicate with human beings. In particular they were part of sacred medicine, the practice by which people went to sleep in healing sanctuaries ('incubation') in the hope that the god or hero would appear to them in their sleep and reveal a cure, after which they would make thank-offerings. Inscriptions provide details of this practice, and L. knew about it (see 45.28.3 on Epidauros). But dreams feature in epiphany inscriptions of other types, and in almost all ancient Greek and Roman literary writers. 'Of classical authors', it has been said, 'the dream is noticeably absent only from Thucydides'.²¹² L.'s source Polybius had a low opinion of dreams, and did not believe that Scipio Africanus was seriously influenced by dreams when he built up the Roman empire (10.2.9), but he acknowledges that Scipio encouraged his troops by reporting a report of a dream-epiphany of Poseidon/Neptune (10.11.7–8);²¹³ L. also mentions Scipio's dreams, although he seems to think that these were invented for the benefit of the *multitudo*.²¹⁴ Scipio's arch-opponent Hannibal was also a dreamer in the literal sense (n. 158). L. was aware that dreams were, at earlier periods, part of divination affecting public events: he records such episodes under 490²¹⁵ and again 340 BC.²¹⁶ There are

²¹¹ See Harris 2009: 23–46. The dreams cited and discussed below are nearly all of this type, as opposed to 'episode' dreams.

²¹² Parker 2004. Harris 2009: 150 ingeniously suggests that the oracle-mongers of 8.1.1 who falsely encouraged the Sicilian Expedition probably included some dream-interpretation, but concedes (his n. 163) that the prophecies at Plut. *Nic.* 13 do not include dreams.

²¹³ On Pol.'s view of dreams, see Harris 2009: 169 (cf. also 175–6), citing the criticism of Timaios at 12.24.5 and the withering dismissal of dreams at 33.21.2 (cf. also Pol. 18.46.7, which is the source of L. 33.32.7). Cf. already Meyer 1924: 370.

²¹⁴ 26.19.4 (cf. 26.41.18). The main sentence is a complicated and cautiously expressed series of alternatives, but for the view in the text above see Harris 2009: 198 and n. 444 (cf. 175–6), against Davies 2004: 126–8.

²¹⁵ A dream experienced by a man called Latinus led to the more magnificent celebration of the *ludi magni*; the senate was evidently convinced that the dream was authentic, and acted accordingly: 2.36.1–37.1; Coelius *FRHist* 15F48 (with *FRHist* III 263–4). Harris 2009: 198 thinks L. would probably not have told the story if it had belonged to much more recent times. Actually, it may indeed have been retrojected from 279 BC, when the dreamer's name was given as T. Annius (Ogilvie 1965: 327), but Harris' point is unaffected, provided L. knew only the version which was dated earlier.

²¹⁶ See n. 196: both consuls of the year were alleged (*dicitur*) to have had the

no dreams in book 22. But Scipio was not quite the only alleged dreamer in the third decade as a whole. The military tribune Marcius, who took over the Spanish command after the deaths of both the Scipio brothers, anticipated Africanus by encouraging his soldiers with talk of his dreams: he said that the dead Scipio brothers had appeared to him, asking him not to leave them or their fellow-soldiers or the *res publica* unavenged.²¹⁷ An account by L. of a dream on these lines experienced by Varro before Cannae²¹⁸ (perhaps an apparition of the dead Flaminius, who is certainly said to have been in Varro's mind on the eve of the battle, 42.9) would not have been unthinkable, if suitably protected by *dicitur*. Tacitus provides a parallel. Compare, from Tacitus, Caecina's pre-battle dream of the blood-soaked Varus emerging from the marshes: not even prefaced by *dicitur*, and obviously too depressing in its implications to be dismissed as a mere fiction to encourage the soldiers.²¹⁹ But L. presumably found nothing of the sort in his sources, although Silenus²²⁰ and Coelius both included dreams (for Coelius see section 3):²²¹ if Coelius had mentioned dreams before Trasimene or Cannae, Cicero in *De diuinatione* would surely have pounced on them. L. evidently thought – rightly – that Trasimene and Cannae were dramatic enough without inventing further picturesque supernatural elements, in addition to the already generously reported prodigies and the consequent divinatory procedures. Nor does he (unlike Pol.)²²² allow either Paullus or Varro a speech of encouragement before the battle in which a dream (whether real or invented) might have featured. Dreams are not very common in L. anyway, and if Harris is right

same dream (an apparition of a majestic and more than life-size figure), which was then confirmed by examination of the entrails by *haruspices*: 8.6.9–16. On the 'authentic detail' of the tall figure see Oakley 1998: 432 (8.6.9n., with addendum at 2005b: 569–70); add Hdt. 5.56.1 (tall and good-looking); Harris 2009: 25 and n. 8 (Near Eastern parallels for beauty).

²¹⁷ 25.38.5–6, with Harris 2009: 176 and n. 312.

²¹⁸ Pre-battle dreams: Harris 2009: 54, 167; cf. Germanicus (next n.).

²¹⁹ See *Ann.* 1.65 with Harris 2009: 191 (noting that Caecina confounded the dream by winning). Contrast Germanicus' pre-battle ('episode') dream at 2.14.1, as elucidated by Harris 2009: 107: likely to have been invented to encourage the troops.

²²⁰ *FGrHist* 175 F2 (Saguntum), followed by Coelius (with differences, on which see Meyer 1924: 368–70). For Coelius see next n.

²²¹ Like Coelius, L. reported Hannibal's Jupiter dream after the capture of Saguntum, but he passed over Juno's dream-warning to him not to remove a golden column from the sanctuary of Juno Lacinia (*FRHist* 15F8, 32). Outside the Hannibalic war narrative, see F48 (490 BC) and 49 (Tiberius Gracchus appears to his brother Gaius in a dream).

²²² 3.108.2–109.13 (purely conventional harangue by Paullus).

(above, n. 215), L. felt happier when reporting dreams from earlier periods of Roman history.

(d) *New Gods, New Cults, New Temples*

The introduction of new and especially Greek gods and cults has been seen as a symptom of the alleged decline of Roman religion. A better approach is to see these gods as the recruitment of another sort of welcome immigrant, comparable to the recruitment of new citizens.²²³ The most celebrated such introduction was that of the Magna Mater, already mentioned above. This has been much discussed, especially for the light it sheds on the nexus Rome–Troy–Attalus of Pergamum–Delphi at the end of the war and of the third century BC.²²⁴ The attention paid to Delphi in 217 cannot so readily be analysed in quite these terms, but the two new temples attested in book 22, those of Mens and Venus Erycina, are both in different ways informative about Roman preoccupations. For both, see 9.10nn.

The attention now paid to Mens, the goddess of Reason (newly worshipped, but the last of a series of cult abstractions), was an expression of what L. regarded as piety, in the sense of ‘not giving way to anxiety and fear when dealing with the gods’.²²⁵ This was an attempt to restrain the panic-stricken emotion so vividly described at 7; see further (e) below.

As for Venus Erycina, Eryx was in the far north-west of Sicily. The Romans will have come to know of the cult of Aphrodite there during the First Punic War, and it may already have been associated with the Aeneas legend; for this reason the goddess was not quite treated as a foreign import.²²⁶ There was a very topical aspect too, at this crisis moment of the war: ‘Trojan kinship may have been a factor: it meant that the Romans had a better right to the goddess than the Carthaginians.’²²⁷ But if this Venus was thought of at Rome as a Roman equivalent of Astarte, the Romans were at the same time propitiating a goddess thought of as friendly to Carthage.²²⁸ The temple vowed now was dedicated in 215.²²⁹

²²³ North 1997: 65.

²²⁴ See Gruen 1984: 191–2, 220 and esp. 253 and n. 18; 1990: 5–33; 1993: 47; Hornblower 2018: 18–19.

²²⁵ Scheid 2015: 85–6.

²²⁶ Virg. *Aen.* 5.759–60. See Gruen 1993: 46–7, esp. 47: ‘establishment of the cult in Rome was not presented as transfer of a foreign deity’: she was positioned on the Capitol near Jupiter Capitolinus, ‘an unmistakeable sign that she represented the national heritage’.

²²⁷ Erskine 2001: 202. Cf. 1.17: Rome propitiates pro-Carthaginian Juno.

²²⁸ Palmer 1997: 53–72; Parker 2017: 61 and n. 107; Hornblower 2018: 56–7. See also Gruen 1990: 9, 14; 1993: 46–7; Yarrow 2006: 178 and 21 (on Diod. 4.83).

²²⁹ 23.30.13, 31.9.

(e) Emotional Responses

Religious action, correctly carried out, was a source not only of social stability but of comfort in time of crisis; see section (b) for the calming effect of the measures taken at the end of book 21. But emotional displays of religious fervour worried the authorities. It is therefore surprising that the senators should have been happy at the introduction of the Magna Mater cult (see (d) above), which had orgiastic and ecstatic aspects. It has been plausibly suggested that they realised that they had got more than they bargained for, and even (not so plausibly) that they had actually led such sheltered lives that they had not even heard of the undesirable features in advance; so they took steps to restrain and control the cult.²³⁰ The best known example of official Roman controlling of a cult – not only in Rome but in Italy – is provided by the Bacchanalian episode of 186 BC, known from L. (39.8–19) and an inscription (*ILLRP* 511). Control of this sort was not a Roman peculiarity: a decree of Ptolemy Philopator of Egypt, who reigned 221–205 BC, stipulated that those who perform the rites of Dionysus must come to Alexandria and register there.²³¹ It is in this sort of way that the ordaining of the temple of Mens should be understood (see again (d) above), an assertion of rationality over panic. The emotional and especially the female reaction to Trasimene is narrated by L. with gusto at 7.6–14 (the basic facts perhaps taken from Coelius); for the ‘gendering of rumour and gossip’²³² in this chapter see esp. 7.7 and 11–12. After Cannae the female response at Rome²³³ was allegedly so extravagant that the (female) cult of Ceres was neglected, and the senate had to step in to restore normality (56.4–5 and n.). In the preceding chapter (55) Fabius Maximus advised the senate to prevent *matronae* from appearing in public, among other steps designed to relieve disturbance and panic in the city, *ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant*, as L. alliteratively puts it at 55.6.²³⁴ But the book closes, as pointed out in section 4 above, on a distinctly positive note: a crowd went out to greet Varro and thank him for not despairing of the *res publica*. The final paragraph of the *periocha* of book 22 precedes this item with a brief account of panic and grief in the

²³⁰ Beard, North and Price 1998: II 97.

²³¹ Hunt and Edgar 1934: 56–7, no. 208.

²³² Hardie 2012: 256 and n. 78. Cf. the report of the female reaction in 211 when Hannibal probed the city’s defences (26.9.7–8).

²³³ For a very differently presented woman away from Rome (but honoured there later), whose activity was also part of the sequel to Cannae, see section 7(f) on Busa the Apulian female benefactor.

²³⁴ Jaeger 1997: 99–105. Cf. 60.2: women (exceptionally) gathering in the Forum.

city, a statement of the more successful operations in Spain (i.e. 19–22) – and of the punishment of the Vestals. The order of narration is: panic, military success, religious severity, expression of thanks to Varro. Similarly Plutarch (*Fab.* 18) moved straight from the religious acts of expiation to the thanking of Varro, ‘after quiet had been restored’, ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἐπὶ ἤνεσσαν. These two much abbreviated later readings of L. are accurate in their juxtaposition of religion to the themes of public emotion and the condition of the *res publica*.

9 ROMAN POLITICS AND FABIAN ROMAN STRATEGY²³⁵

There were no political parties at Rome. Nevertheless, in the twentieth century detailed study of the individuals who held political office and thus became lifelong members of the senate (prosopography) led to the conclusion that the Republican senate contained political groupings, largely based on alliances of *gentes* (i.e. those who shared a common *nomen*: one may talk of ‘families’ provided it is remembered that the reference is not to the nuclear family). The two most influential works were Münzer 1920²³⁶ and, particularly among Anglophone scholars, Scullard 1973.²³⁷ The former sought to establish alliances of a small number of families lasting over long periods, while Scullard envisaged large groupings continuing over several generations, to which he attached the names of, in his opinion, their leading *gentes* (‘Scipionic’, ‘Fabian’, ‘Fulvio-Claudian’). The present discussion is based on the following principles:²³⁸

- (i) Political activity cannot be carried on by an individual in isolation, but groups may not be long-lasting and individuals may constantly join or leave such groups.
- (ii) Such groups constituted only a minority in the senate and no group could command a consistent majority for its views; nor could it control more than a limited number of votes in the assemblies.
- (iii) While the *gens* may be regarded as an important political unit, it is demonstrably not true that all members of what, by the time of the

²³⁵ For an earlier version of the view expressed in this section of the Introduction see Briscoe, *CAH* VIII 67–70.

²³⁶ Translated by T. Ridley as Münzer 1999.

²³⁷ First published in 1951. Ed. 2 (1973) contained a new Foreword at xvii–xxxiii (and see xv, Preface) replying to reviewers and critics.

²³⁸ For a defence of the approach adopted here, cf. Briscoe 1992.

- Hannibalic war, were long-established and widely spread *gentes* such as the Corneli and the Sempronii, had the same allegiances.
- (iv) Though individual instances of collegiality or succession in office prove nothing and the influence of the consul presiding at an election should not be overestimated, when members of a patrician and a plebeian *gens* hold the consulship together or in succession on a number of occasions, it is reasonable to assume a political connection between them. And instances of collegiality or succession can gain significance if combined with evidence of marriage relationships.
 - (v) Alliances which existed at one period cannot, without further evidence, be assumed to continue into another, when the political circumstances may be quite different.
 - (vi) While the main aim of political groups was often securing office for their members, on some occasions they differed on matters of substance and in an election the assembly was choosing between policies as well as personnel.

Roman strategy during the war falls into three distinct phases: (i) 218–216, the period of open battles, resulting in the defeats at the Ticinus, the Trebia, Trasimene and Cannae, interrupted only by the policy of attrition instituted by Fabius during his dictatorship in 217 and continued by Servilius and Atilius for the remainder of the consular year; (ii) from Cannae until 206, when Roman policy was fundamentally defensive, though open conflict was not completely avoided; (iii) the invasion of Africa under Scipio Africanus, from 205 to the decisive Roman victory at Zama in 202. In the first and third of these periods a number of consulships were held by a Cornelius Scipio, a close relative or someone who can plausibly be associated with the family. In the intervening period, the only such consul is M. Livius Salinator²³⁹ in 207 (he was the colleague of L. Aemilius Paullus in 219).

For the present purpose discussion can be restricted to the consuls of 218–216, together with Fabius and his *magister equitum*, M. Minucius Rufus.²⁴⁰ In 218 the consuls were P. Cornelius Scipio, the father of Africanus, and Ti. Sempronius Longus; it may not be coincidence that in 194 Africanus held his second consulship with Longus' son. The senate initially planned to fight the war outside Italy, with Scipio containing

²³⁹ See 35.3n.

²⁴⁰ Scullard's discussion of these years (1973: 39–55) is contained in a chapter anachronistically entitled 'Liberal Politics and Popular Leaders' (followed by 'Conservative Strategy and Politics'); he concluded (55) that 'the Aemilian-Scipionic group was a liberal progressive section of the senate which was more ready than the conservatives under Fabius to listen to the demands of the People'.

Hannibal in Spain and Sempronius invading Africa, and there is no reason to doubt that this policy had the full support of the consuls (Hannibal's invasion of Italy quickly rendered it obsolete).

In 217 the consuls were Cn. Servilius Geminus and C. Flaminius. The political position of Servilius is uncertain²⁴¹ but Flaminius had established himself as a champion of radical policies as tribune in 232, when he carried, against senatorial opposition, a law allocating land in the *ager Gallicus* and *ager Picens* (the modern region of the Marches) *uiritim* (i.e. to citizens individually, not as members of a colony). As consul in 223 he defeated the Insubrian Gauls and later sources, but not Polybius, record further clashes with the senate. He was censor in 220, building the *uia Flaminia*, the main route to the north, and the *circus Flaminius*. See *OCD*¹, *censor*.

L. is extremely hostile to Flaminius, claiming that he had entered his consulship at Ariminum and thus lacked both *imperium* and the auspices (cf. 1.5–7 n.). There is nothing of this in Pol., who begins his account of 217 with Flaminius' arrival at Arretium (3.77.1).²⁴² Pol. himself, however, is very hostile to Flaminius, describing him as a 'complete rabble rouser and demagogue' (3.80.3); at 3.82.2 he is 'buoyed up and full of anger'. There is, though, no evidence of disagreement about continuing to confront Hannibal in battle; nor about the attitude to Flaminius of the Corneli Scipiones, other members of the *gens Cornelia* or those related to them by marriage.

The disaster at Trasimene was followed by the election of Fabius Maximus as dictator and of Minucius Rufus as his *magister equitum*. Normally one of the consuls nominated a dictator, who himself chose his second-in-command. On this occasion, however, one consul was dead, the other cut off from Rome, and the senate, flexible in a crisis, authorised the election of both by the people, a procedure which gave Minucius his own mandate, even if his *imperium* was inferior to that of Fabius. There is nothing surprising about this: in the circumstances Fabius will have been the obvious choice as a pair of safe hands but many voters may have thought he should have a younger energetic second-in-command (in any case we do not know the identity of the other candidates, if there were any).²⁴³ What is more, many will not have realised that Fabius intended

²⁴¹ Scullard's claim (1973: 44) that he was one of the 'members of the Aemilian-Scipionic group' is based on the consular *fasti* of 150 years earlier (cf. 35) and the fact that he was consul in a period when a number of Aemilii and Corneli held the consulship or censorship (39).

²⁴² For a possible explanation of Flaminius' presence at Ariminum, cf. *HCP* 411.

²⁴³ In the US a significant number of electors regularly cast their votes simultaneously for candidates of different parties for, e.g., President and Congress. Some are choosing the candidate rather than the party, others are strong believers in the checks and balances inherent in the United States constitution (the Founding

to allow Hannibal to ravage the Italian countryside unchallenged. It is indeed possible that Minucius had the support of the Scipios, though the fact that he held the consulship of 221 with P. Cornelius Scipio Asina proves nothing; more significantly, in 201, when the consul Cn. Cornelius Lentulus wanted to succeed Scipio Africanus in Africa,²⁴⁴ the tribunes Q. Minucius Thermus (consul in 193), together with M'. Acilius Glabrio (consul in 191), carried a *plebiscitum* confirming peace with Carthage and providing that Scipio should administer it (30.43.1–3).

L.'s account indicates that Fabius' strategy was unpopular both with the people (23.3) and the senate (25.12), though Varro, soon to be elected consul for 216, was the only senator to support Metilius' bill equalising the *imperium* of Fabius and Minucius (25.18).²⁴⁵ This last claim may be doubted: similarly, at 25.1 Fabius himself is said to be the only person in Rome not to believe that, in his absence, Minucius had won a great victory over Hannibal; and at 21.63.3 that Flaminius was the only senator to support the *lex Claudia* prohibiting senators or their sons from engaging in large-scale trade (the law may in fact have been intended to keep traders out of the senate, not senators out of trade). Nevertheless, senatorial support for the Fabian strategy seems to have been at a low ebb; Fabius did not wait for the result of the vote on Metilius' bill, leaving Rome to return to his army during the night (25.16) and learning of it while on his journey (26.7).

L.'s account of the consular elections for 216 (33.9–35.4) is unusually long. The senate wants one of the consuls to return to Rome to hold the elections; they reply that this would be prejudicial to Rome's interest and that the elections should be conducted by an *interrex* (i.e. that they should be held after the end of the consular year.)²⁴⁶ The senate, however, decided that a dictator should be appointed, presumably, as was normal, by one of the consuls,²⁴⁷ to hold the elections (i.e. that they should be held before the end of the consular year). It was declared that there had been a fault in their appointment (*uitio creatis*) and they were ordered to abdicate.²⁴⁸ The consular year was now at an end and an *interregnum* came

Fathers read Montesquieu and he read Polybius). In Britain voters in Liverpool used to regularly elect Labour MPs but a Liberal Democrat City Council.

²⁴⁴ The incident is a salutary warning that not all Corneliis can be regarded as supporters of the Scipios (see p. 74). On this Lentulus see p. 15 and 49.6n.

²⁴⁵ On Metilius see 25.3n.

²⁴⁶ For *interrex* and *interregnum* see below, p. 251. Scullard's notion (1973: 50) that the consuls were proposing that an *interrex* should hold the elections before the end of their term of office is a contradiction in terms.

²⁴⁷ Cf. 8.5.

²⁴⁸ 33.12, cf. 34.10–11. The *Fasti Capitolini* list the dictator and *magister equitum* but have no mention of abdication: it is possible that they merely failed to hold the election before the end of the consular year.

into being. Such decisions were the province of the college of augurs, the senior member of which was Fabius. It is likely that in an *interregnum* the *comitia centuriata* did not choose between candidates but voted for or against one candidate at a time,²⁴⁹ and Fabius may have thought that this would make it easier to stop Varro; moreover, he may have hoped that if no patrician candidate secured a majority, there would be a demand that he should put himself forward.

Only Varro was elected under the presidency of the *interrex* (P. Cornelius Scipio Asina, a first cousin of the consul of 218, the father of Scipio Africanus); i.e. none of the patrician candidates, M. Aemilius Lepidus, P. Cornelius Merenda and L. Manlius Vulso, secured a majority of the *centuriae* in the *comitia centuriata*. The *interregnum* thus came to an end and Varro presided at the election of his colleague.²⁵⁰ L. says (35.3) that the *nobiles*, having discovered that none of the patrician candidates had sufficient strength, persuaded the initially reluctant L. Aemilius Paullus to stand. (For the semi-technical terms *nobiles* and *nobilitas*, see 34.4n.) If Merenda, Lepidus and Vulso had stood again, it is quite likely that none of them would have secured an absolute majority of the centuries: but in that case, the most weakly supported candidate would have withdrawn and one of the others gained a majority at a second election. What L. means, presumably, is that a consul thus elected, having previously been rejected, would lack genuine popular support. We do not know whether Paullus was in fact elected unopposed; of the three original patrician candidates, it is unlikely that Merenda and Lepidus would have stood against Paullus, but he may have been opposed by Manlius Vulso.

We must now ask whether what Scullard called the 'Aemilian-Scipionic group'²⁵¹ can be defined and, if so, what part it played in these events. The link between the Aemilii and the Cornelii Scipiones, over three generations, is beyond doubt. Paullus' daughter, Aemilia, married Scipio Africanus while their son Publius adopted one of the sons of Paullus' son, L. Aemilius Paullus, consul in 182 and 168 and the conqueror of Perseus in the Third Macedonian War.

²⁴⁹ Staveley (1954/5) though he thought that the *interrex* put a 'slate' of two names to the *comitia*, to be accepted or rejected as a whole, regarding as fiction the statement at 35.2 that Varro alone was elected under the presidency of the *interrex*. Cf. Ramsey 2016: 312–13 n. 53.

²⁵⁰ Staveley (1954/5: 207) wrongly took *ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae* (35.2) as a final rather than a consecutive clause, claiming that 'Varro manoeuvred his sole election in order that he might preside over the election of a colleague'.

²⁵¹ Hereafter called just 'the Scipios'.

The dictator and *magister equitum* were, respectively, L. Veturius Philo and M. Pomponius Matho, the latter, as was normal, being nominated by the former. The cumulative case for regarding both as linked to the Scipios is strong: Philo was censor in 210 with the young P. Licinius Crassus, elected *pontifex maximus* (see 10.1n.) in 212, defeating two senior consulars, who was consul with Scipio Africanus in 205 and all of whose actions as *pontifex maximus* show him in conflict with men who, on other grounds, can be regarded as opponents of the Scipios,²⁵² while Philo's son was consul in 206 with Q. Caecilius Metellus, a strong defender of Africanus' interests in the last years of the war.²⁵³ Moreover, Africanus' mother Pomponia was probably the sister of Matho, whose colleague as consul in 231 was C. Papirius Maso, whose sister married the consul of 182 and 168.

The speech, in *oratio obliqua*, which L. ascribes to the tribune Q. Baebius Herennius, said to be related to Varro, is L.'s creation and a gross exaggeration (cf. 34.4–11n.), but Baebius may indeed have used his office to give strong support to Varro and attack Fabius. The Baebii are a minor family who occur infrequently in the historical record, but when they do, they appear to be linked to the Scipios.²⁵⁴

The dictator, as we have seen (cf. 8.5n.), was nominated by one of the consuls, who had originally wanted the election to be held by an *interrex*. As shown above, Scullard's reasons for regarding Servilius as Scipionic are inadequate; his case for thinking that Atilius was a supporter of Fabius is no stronger, being based on wrongly taking 25.16 *consule creato M. Atilio Regulo* to mean that Fabius appointed Atilius as consul rather than that he presided at the election, on the fact that an A. Atilius was the son-in-law of Q. Fabius Rullianus, five times consul between 322 and 295 (Val. Max. 8.1.absol.9) and on the election, during the First Punic War, of two Atilii as, respectively, censor and consul in the consulships of two Fabii.²⁵⁵

Having arrived at this conclusion, Scullard was obliged to argue that the proposal to let the election be conducted by an *interrex* came from Atilius, while the dictator was nominated by Servilius:²⁵⁶ a consul, however, could not overrule his colleague and the most likely explanation is that the consuls took the view that it was not safe for one of them to come to Rome and that a dictator could not be nominated in time to hold the election. The obvious course was to allow the consular year to end and an *interregnum* to come into existence. It was only when the senate decided

²⁵² Cf. Briscoe 1973: 80; 1981: 22–3. ²⁵³ 29.20.1, 30.23.3, 27.2.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Briscoe 1973: 70–1.

²⁵⁵ Scullard 1973: 32. In fact we do not know which consul presided over the election of censors in 247, while the consular election for 245 was held by a dictator.

²⁵⁶ Scullard 1973: 50.

that a dictator should be nominated and the augural college annulled the nomination that the matter became a political dispute.

L.'s implication (34.2) that the whole senate was trying to block the election of Varro is a manifest exaggeration. In fact, it may well be true only of a small minority. That is not to say that the whole of the majority actively supported Varro, but if he had widespread support among the people, particularly, which is what mattered, among the *prima classis* in the *comitia centuriata*, they saw no reason to object to his election.

What L. says at 34.2 is part of his view that while Paullus' policy was to continue the Fabian strategy, Varro wanted to abandon it and bring the war to an end by defeating Hannibal in open battle. Thus at 40.1–3 Paulus agrees with what Fabius has said to him, though he is not optimistic about the outcome, at 41.2 he prevents Roman troops from pursuing the fleeing Carthaginians, at 41.5 Hannibal is said to know that the consuls are 'unlike each other and at loggerheads' (Foster), at 42.3 Varro behaves as if he is an ordinary soldier, while Paullus tries to restrain him, at 44.5–8 the consuls quarrel bitterly. When the battle begins, with Varro in command, Paullus follows him only because he thinks he has no alternative. Finally, with his dying words, Paullus asks Lentulus to tell Fabius that he had lived and was dying remembering his advice (49.10).

Polybius, on the other hand, makes it clear that it was the senate as a whole which made the decision to once again engage with Hannibal in a pitched battle. We do not know whether Fabius argued, or even voted, against this course; perhaps he realised that he was in a small minority and saw no point in prolonging the argument. In Polybius, though, while he is highly critical of Varro (3.110.3, 116.13) and in no way blames Paullus for the result, Paullus' disagreement with Varro concerns only the right terrain for battle, not whether to engage in battle at all (3.110.2–3, 8, 112.2).²⁵⁷ Nor, it seems, did the Romans as a whole blame Varro: L. concludes book 22 with the famous scene, already described by Coelius,²⁵⁸ in which Varro, on his return to Rome, was greeted by all sectors of society and thanked for not despairing of the republic.²⁵⁹ He was, moreover, employed in a number of capacities in the years which followed: his *imperium* prorogued, he was a proconsul in Picenum from 215 to

²⁵⁷ Cf. Oakley 2019: 161–2; Levene 2019. ²⁵⁸ Cf. 61.15n.

²⁵⁹ Both Silius (10.605–39) and Plutarch (*Fab.* 18.4–5) make Fabius one of those who greeted Varro. If this version stood in L.'s sources, Oakley (2019: 182) may be right to suggest that L. did not mention Fabius because he wanted to emphasise the collective Roman response. However that may be, Fabius may well have been present: though he disagreed with the strategy, he could have taken the view that Varro had fought bravely and was still consul; to have absented himself on such an occasion would have been unworthy and have caused a great deal of ill feeling.

213 (23.25.11, 32.19, 24.44.5). a propraetor in Etruria in 208 and 207 (27.24.2–9, 35.2, 36.13, 28.10.11), an ambassador to Macedon in 203 (30.26.2–4) and Africa in 200 (31.11.18, 19.1–6), and in the latter year a *iiiuir* for the supplementation of the colony at Venusia (31.49.6).

There are, then, good reasons to think that Varro had the support of the Scipios. Nevertheless, Polybius' hostile attitude to Varro presumably derives from his friendship with Scipio Aemilianus, Paullus' grandson.²⁶⁰ In the second century the family will have sought to defend the memory of Paullus by making Varro the scapegoat for Cannae; in particular a part may have been played by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Africanus and author of a history, written in Greek (*FRHist* 3, but no fragments survive).

As to the source of L.'s portrayal of Varro, part of it may have come from Coelius, but it was probably developed by Valerius Antias and further embellished by L. himself.

10 MANPOWER

(a) *Roman*²⁶¹

The Romans relied greatly on the manpower of their Italian allies, although the sources do not always make the allied contribution clear. The Roman: allied proportion (infantry) was approximately 1:1, but the allies supplied three times as many cavalry.²⁶² The normal strength of a Roman legion was 4,200 infantry, and 300 cavalry, to which the allied forces must be added.²⁶³ L. says that the Roman losses at Trasimene totalled 15,000, and that 10,000 escaped.²⁶⁴ This must mean that Flaminius had two Roman legions and a rather larger total of allies. In the final sentence of book 21,

²⁶⁰ See Pol. 31.23.6–25.1.

²⁶¹ For the Hannibalic War see Beloch 1886: 380–1; De Sanctis 1968 (originally 1916, see below): 614–15 (Table 1), also 111–15 for Trasimene and 126–30 for Cannae; Toynbee 1965: II 36–49 (and see below, nn. 267 and 271 for his Tables); Brunt 1971: 416–23 and 645–57 (App. 22). More recent works do not go into the topic in much detail. (De Sanctis 1968 needs a word. Though it calls itself a second ed., it is virtually unchanged, except in pagination, from the 'first ed.' of over half a century earlier. The changes are listed at p. 673, and consist of a handful of minor additions noted by the author himself soon after the original publication. For the explanation of this see p. xii. Brunt 1971 uses the 1916 pagination, not that of 1968.)

For the constituent units of Roman armies, see 5.7n.

²⁶² Brunt 1971: 677, citing Pol. 3.107.12 and 6.26.7. See also Keppie 1998: 21–3. Cf. 13.2n., 42.4n. and 42.11n. (Campanian, Sidicine and Lucanian cavalry).

²⁶³ Infantry: Pol. 6.20.8, cf. 2.24.13. Of the 4,200, 1,200 were *uelites* (light-armed), see *HCP* 702–3. Cavalry: Pol. 3.107.12 with Brunt 1971: 677 n. 1. See also Keppie 1998: 31–5.

²⁶⁴ 7.2. See n. there for Pol.'s higher total.

however (63.15), L. had implied that Flaminius controlled four legions before Trasimene; but this must rest on a misunderstanding of some sort.²⁶⁵ Certainly the constricted terrain at Trasimene does not allow for four legions and a comparable force of allies. The total numbers of Roman legions in these years is uncertain and disputed. See the *Annex* to this section.

At Cannae in 216, Pol. gave the Romans twice as many infantry as their opponents (80,000 : 40,000, see Pol. 3.114.5 for the Carthaginians), but fewer cavalry (6,000 : 10,000, Pol. 3.113.5 and 114.5). The Roman infantry totals are problematic. Pol. (3.107.9) is explicit that they fielded eight legions of 5000 each 'apart from the allies', whose numbers were the same. See 36.1–5n. and below p. 84.

Casualty figures are notoriously unreliable. Romans and their historians might actually exaggerate their own losses: 'the greater the disasters, the more admirable was their recovery'.²⁶⁶ For Roman casualties at Trasimene, see above. L. (49.15) gives the Roman infantry casualties at Cannae as 45,000 infantry and 2,700 cavalry. Elsewhere (e.g. at 59.5, and in other speeches) L. rounds this up to 50,000. Pol. has 'about 70,000' and 10,000 prisoners (3.117.3–4). Walbank²⁶⁷ reckoned that this figure of 70,000 was reached by subtracting the number of prisoners from the legionary total of 8 x (5000 Romans + 5000 allies = 10,000), excluding cavalry and ignoring survivors, and concluded that 'any estimate of casualties is likely to be unreliable'.²⁶⁸ L. is probably closer to the truth. The next sentence at 49.15 is corrupt, but the intended meaning is clearly that Roman and allied losses were more or less the same. For all this see 49.15n.

(b) Carthaginian

Polybius says that Hannibal left Spain with about 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, but that by the time he had crossed the Alps and reached the Po, these totals were down to 20,000 and 6,000 respectively (3.35.1 and 56.4). The first pair of figures is fantastic²⁶⁹ and only the Po totals

²⁶⁵ Perhaps he conflated two traditions, one that Flaminius took over the troops of Sempronius Longus, cos. 218, the other that he raised new ones. See Brunt 1971: 648 and Lazenby 1978: 61.

²⁶⁶ For a strong expression of scepticism about casualty figures generally, see Brunt 1971: 694–7 (= App. 28); quotation in the text from 695. For inflated enemy casualty figures in Quadrigarius and Antias cf. *FRHist* I 291, 299; see section 3 p. 11.

²⁶⁷ *HCP* 440.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Brunt 1971: 419; Lazenby 1978: 84 and Seibert 1993b: 231–2.

²⁶⁹ Pol.'s totals for Hannibal's forces at the crossing of the Rhone (38,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, 3.60.5) are also too high: see 39.14n.

are likely to approximate to the truth²⁷⁰ (on the unreliable claims, both made by speakers in L., that Hannibal lost two-thirds of his forces during the journey from the Ebro to Italy see 39.14n.). Pol. says that the Po totals derived from Hannibal's inscribed record at the sanctuary of Juno Lacinia near Croton (for this see Pol. 3.33.18 and L. 28.46.16). Superiority in cavalry, as indicated by these figures, and by the disparity at Cannae mentioned above, was a crucial factor in his successes in Italy (see section 2). Most of this force was still intact after the battle at the Trebia, where most of the casualties were Celts (3.74.10). It had been reinforced by perhaps as many as 14,000 Celts (9000 infantry, 5000 cavalry).²⁷¹ Neither Pol. nor L. provide specific information about the Carthaginian forces at Trasimene. But L. says (3.1) that Hannibal suffered many losses, human and animal, as a result of the marshy conditions produced by the flooding of the Arno. He is nevertheless likely to have outnumbered Flaminius at Trasimene, in fact by about 15,000 men (perhaps 35,000–40,000 as against 25,000).

According to L., Carthaginian casualties at Trasimene numbered 2500 (7.3), and about 8000 at Cannae (52.6). Pol. has lower figures for each battle (1500 and 5700, see nn. on the above passages), but there can be no certainty as to which, if either, was right.

(c) *After Cannae*

The Roman manpower recovery after Cannae was impressively rapid. For the immediate measures taken by the praetor M. Claudius Marcellus and the newly appointed dictator M. Iunius Pera, who enrolled two new regular legions, see 57.7–12 and nn. Two *legiones Cannenses* were formed from the legions badly mauled at Cannae. It is not clear or agreed whether the *legio classica* of 57.8 should be added to the legionary total (see n. there). Depending on what answer is given to this problem, the total of legions was now either fourteen or thirteen. By 212, there were twenty-five legions, the highest total of the entire war. By contrast, Hannibal's forces dwindled progressively until, with perhaps no more than 12,000 men left,²⁷² he was forced out of Italy and back to Africa, to be defeated at Zama, where Scipio heavily outnumbered him. But that story cannot be continued here.

²⁷⁰ HCP 366. See again 39.14n.

²⁷¹ See Lazenby 1978: 56, a rough calculation, based on Pol.'s figures for the battle at the Trebia (3.72.8–13). See also De Sanctis 1968: 114–15.

²⁷² Lazenby 1978: 215.

Annex: Numbers of Roman Legions

The total of legions before Trasimene was eleven. In addition to the forces in the Italian peninsula (Flaminius' two in Etruria and Servilius' two at Ariminum), there were two legions in Spain, two in Sicily, one in Sardinia, and probably two 'urban legions' in Rome itself, as in many later years of the war.²⁷³ After the battle and the death of the consul Flaminius, Fabius is said by L. to have announced his enrolment of two more legions²⁷⁴ in addition to the two of the surviving consul Servilius (11.3, *Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit*), so that he had four by the time of the division of forces with Minucius (27.10–11).²⁷⁵ The two new legions were replacements for those lost at Trasimene, so that by the end of 217 there were again eleven legions in the field.²⁷⁶ This was five more than in 218, and was, as has rightly been said, 'a striking demonstration of Rome's immense manpower reserves'.²⁷⁷

On the view taken in the text above, the total of legions at Cannae was seventeen: eight against Hannibal, two each in Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Rome, and one in Sardinia.²⁷⁸ After Cannae, two legions, the *legiones Cannenses*, were formed from the remains of the eight. See (c) above.

11 THE TEXT

There are over 170 manuscripts of Livy's third decade. The oldest, written in Italy, in uncial script,²⁷⁹ in the fifth century AD, is Paris, Bibliothèque

²⁷³ For these *legiones urbanae*, see De Sanctis 1968: 114; Toynbee 1965: II 528–32; Brunt 1971: 648 and Lazenby 1978: 61. L. does not mention their formation at the beginning of 217, but that is not a fatal objection, since he is silent about troop dispositions generally at the beginning of that year. See Toynbee 1965: II 529–30.

²⁷⁴ The make-up of this force is not agreed, but the simplest view is that given in the text. That is, L. meant what he says at 11.3 and was right. For a more complicated theory, which brings the urban legions into the equation, see Brunt 1971: 648.

²⁷⁵ De Sanctis 1968: 111–12.

²⁷⁶ See the tables at Toynbee 1965: II 647–52; De Sanctis 1968: 614–15 and Brunt 1971: 418.

²⁷⁷ Lazenby 1978: 62.

²⁷⁸ But thirteen on the view (De Sanctis followed by Brunt) that Pol. was wrong and the Romans had four not eight strengthened legions at Cannae. See the helpful annotated table of modern variants at Toynbee 1965: II 647 (Table I), and for Toynbee's own view, here accepted, II 650–1 (Table III). The correct breakdown of the seventeen before Cannae was already given by Beloch 1886: 381, with his usual clarity (his later change of mind for the worse, under the influence of Cantalupi, is not here discussed).

²⁷⁹ The rounded uppercase script used between the fourth and ninth centuries.

nationale de France, latin 5730, called the 'Puteaneus' (hence the siglum P) because it belonged to Claude Dupuy, who Latinised his name as Puteanus. It is the direct source of the three (in books 21–23; see n. 282) next oldest manuscripts and in books 21–25 the ultimate source of all the rest.²⁸⁰ It follows that in book 22 P alone possesses textual authority and that the remaining manuscripts are of interest only for the conjectures they contain, many universally accepted, both in their text as originally written and in subsequent corrections. The critical apparatus²⁸¹ which accompanies the text in this edition indicates the manuscript(s) in which a reading first appears and thus enables the reader to see the date at which it entered the tradition.

The following three manuscripts are direct copies of P:

- R Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Reginae Latinus 762, written at Tours (France), c.800. It now begins at 22.6.5 *uelut*.
- M Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana 63.20, written at Corbie (France), 875–900.²⁸²
- C Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 5731, written in France c.1000.

No immediate descendants of M and C survive, though some of their readings may have been used by later scribes or correctors, and two fifteenth-century manuscripts derive from M. A copy of R (Γ), however, was the source of all later manuscripts, the earliest of which divide into two groups, Δ and Λ.²⁸³ Δ consists of three manuscripts written in France in the second half of the twelfth century: Cambridge, Trinity College 637 (D) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 5732 (K) and 5736 (E); the Λ manuscripts were written in Italy, four of them (Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, Vindobonensis Latinus 33-II (Q), London, British Library, Harley 2493 (A), Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana 63.21 (N) and Chicago, Newberry Library 164 (O)) in the twelfth century, one (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginae Latinus 902 (Z)) in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. All other manuscripts are descendants of one of the Λ manuscripts.

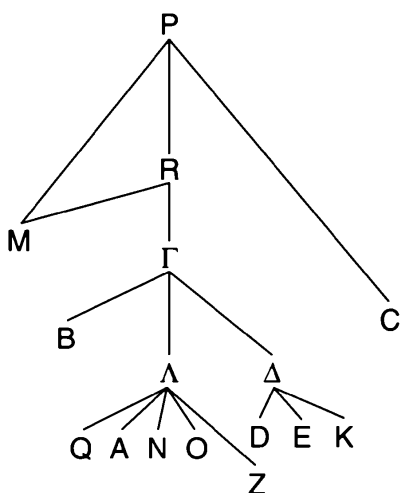
²⁸⁰ In books 26–30 some manuscripts derive in part from the Spirensian tradition, named from the *codex Spirensis*, discovered at Speyer (Germany) and cited by Rhenanus in the edition published at Basle in 1535. See Briscoe in Yardley 2019: lxxx–lxxxi.

²⁸¹ See further p. 86.

²⁸² From some point in books 24–25, M was copied from R.

²⁸³ A third descendant of Γ, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, class. 35 (B), written in the first half of the eleventh century, begins only at 24.7.8 *certiorem*.

The stemma, therefore, is:²⁸⁴



It follows that there is no reason to cite R, M, C, Γ, Δ or Λ if they agree with P; nor to cite Γ, Δ or Λ if R differs from P and they agree with R.

With one exception, corrections in the manuscripts are cited with ‘c’ following the siglum for the manuscript (see p. 89).²⁸⁵ The exception is A, where ‘A^p’ and ‘A^v’, respectively, indicate the annotations of the two greatest scholars of the Renaissance, Petrarch²⁸⁶ in the fourteenth century and Valla in the fifteenth.²⁸⁷

The text in this edition is essentially that of Briscoe’s OCT, revised to remove errors, incorporate changes of mind and cohere with a few places where the OCT obelised and the commentary defends the transmitted reading or expresses a preference for a particular conjecture. Entries in the apparatus are limited to places where the commentary discusses a textual problem; names and abbreviations of authors of conjectures cited (far fewer than in the OCT) can be elucidated from pp. xxix–xxxix of the OCT; see also Briscoe 2018: chs. 10–12 (for *det(t)*., referring to later manuscripts, cf. ch. 9).

²⁸⁴ We are grateful to Harvard University Press for permission to reproduce Briscoe’s stemma published in LIVY, VOL. V, translated by J. C. Yardley, Loeb Classical Library Volume 233, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Copyright © 2019 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Loeb Classical Library® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

²⁸⁵ For the attempts of Conway and Walters to distinguish a multitude of different correctors in P, M and C, see Briscoe 2016: pp. viii–x.

²⁸⁶ For recent doubts about the ascription to Petrarch, made by Billanovich in his famous article in *JWI* 14 (1951): 137–208, see Petoletti 2019.

²⁸⁷ See Briscoe 2018: ch. 7.

Appendix

The purpose of this appendix is to explain a number of terms used in textual criticism, most of which will be encountered in the commentary, to refer to the causes of scribal error in copying manuscripts.

Haplography. When a letter, or group of letters, occur twice in succession, writing them only once: e.g. *esset* instead of *esse et* or *esset et*.

Dittography. Writing a letter or group of letters twice instead of once: e.g. *esse et* instead of *esset*.

Anticipation. Wrongly inserting a word or writing the form of a word which occurs shortly after the word being copied: e.g. *haberent ... haberent* instead of *haberet ... haberent*.

Perseveration. Wrongly inserting a word or writing the form of a word which occurs shortly before the word being copied: e.g. *haberent ... haberent* instead of *haberent ... haberet*.

Homoioteleuton ('with the same ending') refers to two words having the same ending and is often the cause of the omission of words in a manuscript, a scribe's eye moving from the first to the second of the two words, especially common with the third person pluperfect subjunctive (*-esset* or *-essent*). It is a particular case of the phenomenon known as *saut du même au même* ('jump from the same to the same'), which can involve whole words or groups of letters within a word.

MANUSCRIPTS

P	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 5730	5th century
R	Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. Lat. 762	c.800
M	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana 63.20	850–875
C	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 5731	10–11th century
Γ	Consensus of ΔΛ	
Δ	Consensus of DEK	c.1160–1170
D	Cambridge, Trinity College, 637	
E	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 5736	
K	Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 5732	
Λ	Consensus of QANÖZ	
Q	Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, Vind. Lat. 33-II	c.1150
A	London, British Library, Harley 2493	1150–1200
N	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana 63.21	1150–1200
O	Chicago, Newberry Library 164	1150–1200
Z	Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. Lat. 902	1300–1325
A ^c , A ^p , A ^v	see p. 86	
dett.	other manuscripts cited; see p. 85	

editio princeps

ed. Rom. edition, Rome, 1469 or 1470

TITI LIVI AB VRBE CONDITA LIBER XXII

- 1 Iam uer appetebat cum Hannibal ex hibernis mouit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. 2 Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciuerat spes, postquam pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis uidere, 3 uerterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem leuitate qua consenserant consensum indicantium, seruatus erat et mutando nunc uestem nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. 4 ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius mouendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Seruilius consul Romae idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. 5 ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium inuidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspiciū esse? 6 magistratus id a domo, publicis priuatisque penetibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, uotis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum ferre; 7 nec priuatum auspicia sequi nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo noua atque integra concipere posse. 8 augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumuenti uigilias equiti scipionem quem manu tenuerat arsisse et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, 9 et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus et solis orbem minui uisum, et Praeneste ardentes lapides caelo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in caelo uisas pugnantemque cum luna solem, et Capenae duas interdū lunas ortas, 10 et aquas Caeretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis, et in Anti<at>i metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, 11 et Faleriis caelum findi uelut magno hiātu uisum quaque patuerit ingens lumen effulsisse, sortes sua sponte attenuatas unamque excidisse ita scriptam 'Mauors telum suum concutit', 12 et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis Appia uia ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli ardentis fuisse lunaeque inter imbrem cadentis.

1.1 cum *dett.* : que *P* : <at>que *Alschevski* : <ita>que *Wölfflin*

2 uidere *Alschevski* : uiderent *P* : uiderunt *CA*

8 tenuerat *P* : tenuerit *Ruperti* : tenebat *Wolff*

10 respersum *C* : spersum *P* : sparsum *Γ*

in Anti<at>i *Gron.* : in Antii *P* : Antii *A^p*

11 scriptam *P* : <in>scriptam *H.J.M.*

13 inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese uertisse. 14 his, sicut erant nuntiata, expositis auctoribusque in curiam introductis, consul de religione patres consuluit. 15 decretum ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia puluinaria haberetur; 16 cetera, cum decemuiri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent quemadmodum cordi esse diuis e carminibus praefarentur. 17 decemuirorum monitu decretum est Ioui primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, Iunoni Mineruaeque ex argento dona darentur et Iunoni reginae in Auentino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuui maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, 18 matronaeque pecunia conlata quantum conferre cuique commodum esset donum Iunoni reginae in Auentinum ferrent lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae unde Feroniae donum daretur pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. 19 haec ubi facta, decemuiri Ardeae in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum—et eum lectum senatores strauerunt—et conuiuium publicum, 20 ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac seruare in perpetuum iussus.

- 2 Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium peruenisse fama erat, 2 cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem uiam per paludes petit, qua fluuius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundauerat. 3 Hispanos et Afros—id omne ueterani erat robur exercitus—admixtis ipsorum impedimentis necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; nouissimos ire equites; 4 Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque uiae—ut est mollis ad talia gens—dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. 5 primi, qua modo praeirent duces, per praealtas fluuii ac profundas uoragines, hausti paene limo immergentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur. 6 Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex uoraginibus poterant, neque aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, 7 alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel uictis taedio animis

16 diuis e *Madvig* : diuinis *P* : diui in *J. Gron.* : diuis *Stroth* : <di sibi> diuinis *Conway* : <dis> diuinis <e> *Briscoe*

17 Ioui *P* : <ut> Ioui *Wesenberg* donum *P* : *del. Pluygers*

fieret *P* : fieret <et> *Wölfflin* 19 et eum *P* : *del. Gron.* : eum *Madvig*

2.3 id ... erat *Gron.* : et ... *P* : *om. erat M^cC*

procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes; maximeque omnium uigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. 8 cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora inueniri posset, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insuper incumbabant, 9 <aut> iumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acerui tantum quod exstaret aqua quaerentibus ad quietem parui temporis necessarium cubile dabant. 10 ipse Hannibal aeger oculis ex uerna primum intemperie uariante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, uectus, 11 uigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrisque caelo grauante caput et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

- 3 Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse. 2 consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera quae cognosse in rem erat summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur. 3 regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti; 4 consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens; hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero ciuilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. 5 itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum; quoque pronior esset in uitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus parat, 6 et laeua relicto hoste Faesulas petens medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantum maximam uastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. 7 Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum uero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique uidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italiam uagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, 8 ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus: collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus communi animo consilioque rem gererent, 9 interim equitatu auxiliisque leuium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum—iratus se

9 <aut> *Hertz* : <uel> *Duker* : *om. P*

3.6 Faesulas petens *P* : <a> Faesulis (profectus laeua relicto hoste Etruriae agros praedatum petens) *Cluuerius* : *del. Jordan* : Faesulas p<ra>et<eri>ens *Conway* : Cortonam petens *Dunbabin*

ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnaeque cum <...>. 10 'immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus' inquit, 'hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam uastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia perueniat, nec ante nos hinc mouerimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veiiis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciuerint.' 11 haec simul increpans cum ocus signa conuelli iuberet et ipse in equum insilisset, equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. 12 territis omnibus qui circa erant uelut foedo omine incipiendae rei, insuper nuntiatur signum omni ui moliente signifero conuelli nequire. 13 conuersus ad nuntium 'num litteras quoque' inquit 'ab senatu adfers quae me rem gerere uetant? abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad conuellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerint.' 14 incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in uolgius laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

- 4 Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum omni clade belli peruastat, quo magis iram hosti ad uindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat; 2 et iam peruenerat ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses †inTrasumennum subit†. uia tantum interest perangusta, uelut ad <id> ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles adsurgunt. 3 ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque leuem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat, ut ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

4 Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum peruenisset, inexplorato postero die uixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patientiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium quod ex aduerso erat conspexit: ab tergo ac super caput deceptae insidiae. 5 Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfissum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul inuadendi.

9 <...> sic lac. ind. Briscoe: qui uel cum dedisset dett. : <proposuit> quin ed. Ven. 1470
13 uetant P: uetent C' obtorpuerint CA: obtorpuerit P: obtorpuerunt Madvig
14 ab consilio P: a consule Mehler: in consilio M. Müller

4.2 †in ... subit† P: in ... subeunt dett. : Transmienus subit ed. Rom. : in ... sidunt Gron. : in montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit C-W

4 deceptae P: detectae C: tectae (uel detectae) Valla: deductae det. : contectae det. : deceptere Lipsius: <haud> (<non> Novak (e)) detectae Stroth: neglectae Koch: <haud> dispectae Hell: despectae uel deceptis insidiis Frigell

- 6 qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. 7 Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret se circumuentum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est quam satis
- 5 instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent. consul percussis omnibus ipse satis ut in re trepida impavidus, turbatos ordines, uertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit ut tempus locusque patitur, et quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: 2 nec enim inde uotis aut imploratione deum sed ui ac uirtute euadendum esse; per medias acies ferro uiam fieri et quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. 3 ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent ut uix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum. 4 ad gemitus uolnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium pauentiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. 5 alii fugientes pugnantium globo inlati haerebant; alios redeuntes in pugnam auertebat fugientium agmen. 6 deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequiquam impetus capti et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat apparuitque nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, 7 tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et noua de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; 8 fors conglobat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat, tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostrauit auertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus inuexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.
- 6 Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. 2 eum et robora uirorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem, 3 insignemque armis et hostes summa ui petebant etuebantur ciues, donec Insuber eques—Ducario nomen erat—facie quoque

6 collibus *Lipsius* : uallibus *P* : <inter>uallis *Tittler* : callibus *Rosbach*

5.4 uulnerum *P* : uulner<ator>um *Ruperti* strepentium *P* : terrentium *Heusinger*

8 animus ... animorum *P* : *del.* animus *Doujat*, animorum *Madvig*

noscitans consulem, '<en>' inquit 'hic est' popularibus suis, 'qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus; 4 iam ego hanc uictimam manibus peremptorum foede ciuium dabo.' subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto uenienti obuiam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. 5 magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pauori obstabant; per omnia arta praeruptaque uelut caeci euadunt, armaque et uiri super alium alii praecipitantur. 6 pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima uada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus umeris exstare possunt, sese immergunt; fuere quos inconsultus pauor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit; 7 quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi uada retro aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. 8 sex milia ferme primi agminis per aduersos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium quae post se agerentur, ex saltu euasere, et cum in tumulto quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. 9 inclinata denique re, cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. 10 itaque ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublati raptim signis quam citatissimo poterant agmine sese abripuerunt. 11 postero die cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis uestimentis passurum, sese dederunt; 12 quae Punica religione seruata fides ab Hannibale est atque in uincula omnes coniecti.

- 7 Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. 2 quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa sunt; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diuersis itineribus urbem petiere; 3 duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea ex uolneribus periere. multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; 4 ego praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex uano uelim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. 5 Hannibal captiuorum qui Latini nominis essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in uincula datis, segregata ex hostium

6.6 umeris *P*: humerisque *ed. Rom.*: et humeris *NA^b*: *del. Conway*

7.2 caesa sunt *MΓ*: caesas *P*: caesa <totidem capta> *C. Peter*

3 duo milia *P*: mille *RM*

coaceruatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non inuenit.

6 Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. 7 matronae, uagae per uias, quae repens clades allata quaeue fortuna exercitus esset obuios percontantur; et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam uersa magistratus uocaret, 8 tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor 'pugna' inquit 'magna uicti sumus.' et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt 9 consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum; superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. 10 quot casus exercitus uicti fuerant, tot in curas distracti animi eorum erant quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet quid aut speret aut timeat. 11 postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum quam uirorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque obuuiis sciscitantes neque auelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. 12 inde uarios uoltus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfufos. 13 feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus. 14 unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. 15 senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti uictoribus Poenis posset.

- 8 Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio propraetore missa ad collegam ab Seruilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasimenum auditam auerterant iter, ab Hannibale circumuenta. 2 eius rei fama uarie homines adfecit. pars occupatis maiore aegritudine animis leuem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; 3 pars non id quod acciderat per se aestimare sed, ut in adfecto corpore quamuis leuis causa magis quam <in> ualido grauior sentiretur, 4 ita tum aegrae et adfectae ciuitati quodcumque aduersi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine sed uiribus

10 distracti *Weiss.* : dispraeti *P* : dispertiti *Λ*

13 complexu *Alschevski* (*sic Val. Max.* 9.12.2) : conspexu *P* : conspectu *P'*
fili *P* : *del. H.J.M.*

8.4 inciderit *P* : inciderat *A^b* : incideret *Ingerslev*

extenuatis, quae nihil quod adgrauaret pati possent, aestimandum esse. 5 itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, ciuitas confugit; et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse uidebatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, 6 quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creauit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; 7 iisque negotium ab senatu datum ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et praesidia disponerent, quibus locis uideretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

- 9 Hannibal recto itinere per Vmbriam usque ad Spoletium uenit. 2 inde, cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae minus prospere temptatae uiribus quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, 3 in agrum Picenum auertit iter, non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem sed refertum praeda, quam effuse auidi atque egentes rapiebant. 4 ibi per dies aliquot statua habita refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri uia proelioque magis ad euentum secundo quam leui aut facili adfectus. 5 ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum Hadrianum<que> agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Paelignos deuastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. 6 Cn. Seruilius consul leuibus proeliis cum Gallis <f>actis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegae exercitusque caede audiuit, iam moenibus patriae metuens ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

7 Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magistratum iniit uocato senatu, ab dis orsus, cum edocuisset patres plus negligentia caerimoniae auspicio<que> temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse quaeque piacula irae deum essent ipsos deos consulendos esse, 8 peruicit ut, quod non ferme decernitur nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemuiri libros Sibyllinos adire iuberentur. 9 qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus quod eius belli causa uotum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius faciendum esse, 10 et Ioui ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erycinae ac Menti uouendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et uer sacrum uouendum si bellatum prospere esset resque publica in eodem quo ante bellum fuisset statu permansisset. 11 senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura

4 esse *P*: esse <censere> (uel <credere> uel <dicere>) uel censere *pro* esse *H.J.M.*

5 mitti *Mommsen*: mitti nec dictatu(o *P*) rem populo(-us *P*) creare poterat *P*

6 dictatorem *P*: <pro>dictatorem *Asc.*

9.5 Praetutianum *Sabellicus*: Praeputianum *P*

esset, M. Aemilium praetorem ex collegii pontificum sententia omnia ea ut mature fiant curare iubet.

10 His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente collegium praetore, omnium primum populum consulendum de uere sacro censet: iniussu populi uoueri non posse. 2 rogatus in haec uerba populus: 'uelitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut uelim <uou>eamque, salua seruata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt qui cis Alpes sunt, 3 tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium quod uer attulerit ex suillo ouillo caprino bouillo grege quaeque profana erunt Ioui fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque iusserit. 4 qui faciet, quando uolet quaque lege uolet facito; quo modo faxit probe factum esto. 5 si id moritur quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. si quis rumpet occidetue insciens, ne fraus esto. si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto neue cui cleptum erit. 6 si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto. si nocte siue luce, si seruus siue liber faxit, probe factum esto. si antidea senatus populusque iusserit fieri ac faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto.' 7 eiusdem rei causa ludi magni uoti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus, <trecentis triginta tribus> triente, praeterea bubus Ioui trecentis, multis aliis diuis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. 8 uotis rite nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum coniugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura. 9 tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemuiris sacrorum curantibus: sex puluinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Ioui ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Mineruae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Volcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. 10 tum aedes uotae. Veneri Erycinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator uouit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat ut is uoueret cuius maximum imperium in ciuitate esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor uouit.

11 Ita rebus diuinis peractis, tum de bello deque re publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotue legionibus uictori hosti obuiam eundum esse patres censerent. 2 decretum ut ab Cn. Seruilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex ciuibus sociisque quantum equitum ac

10.2 haec sic fieri *P*: *del. Lipsius*

3 tum *Madvig*: datum *P*: <ut> datum *Crév.*: dignum *Koch*: olim *Hasenmüller*: dis tum *Lutembacher*: ratum *Rosbach*

5 cleptum *A^b*: coeptum *P* 6 antidea *Lipsius*: ante id ea *P*

10 editum *N*: edictum *P*

peditum uideretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica duceret. 3 Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Seruilianum exercitum dixit. iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conueniendum edixit. 4 edictoquoque proposito ut quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, ut ii commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius qua iturus Hannibal esset, 5 tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse uia Flaminia profectus obuiam consuli exercituque, cum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, uiatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem ueniret. 6 qui cum dicto paruisset congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud ciues sociosque uetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt naues onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. 7 itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci iussus nauibusque quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent completis milite ac naualibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. 8 magna uis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in uerba iurauerant. 9 ex hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant in naues impositi, alii ut urbi praesiderent relict.

12 Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conueniendum edixerat nouis militibus, uenit. 2 inde Praeneste ac transuersis limitibus in uiam Latinam est egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus. 3 quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret. 4 sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota uidet, increpans quidem uictos tandem illos Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et concessum propalam de uirtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit; 5 ceterum tacita cura animum incessit quod cum duce haudquaquam Flamini Sempronique simili futura sibi res esset ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent. 6 et prudentiam quidem dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam haud dum expertus, agitare ac temptare animum mouendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit, 7 et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat,

11.4 ut ii *Gron.* : uti *P* : *del. Novák*

5 uiatorem misit *dett.* : uiatore misso *P* : <substitit> uiatore misso *Weiss.* : uiatore misso ... ueniret, <substitit> *Novák*

12.4 illos (*A*^v) *uel del. Valla* : quos *P*

6 dictatoris *Luchs* : non uim dictatoris *P*

modo repente in aliquo flexu uiae, si excipere degressum in aequum posset, occultus subsistebat. 8 Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab hoste interuallo ut neque omitteret eum neque congredereetur. castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; 9 equitum leuisque armaturae statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat; 10 neque uniuerso periculo summa rerum committebatur et parua momenta leuium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum, finitimo receptu, adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut uirtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae. 11 sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud quam quod impar erat imperio morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat. ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua immodicus, 12 primo inter paucos, dein propalam in uolgus, pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens uicina uirtutibus uitia, compellabat, premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus creuit, sese extollebat.

- 13 Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneuentanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, inritat etiam de industria ducem <Romanum>, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus cladibus sociorum detrahare ad aequum certamen possit. 2 inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum inlecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. 3 hi nuntiantes si in Campaniam exercitum admouisset, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen ut Campaniam ex Samnio peteret mouerunt. 4 monitos etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. 5 ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum; 6 sed <os> Punicum abhorrens ab <pronuntiatione> Latinorum nominum, <Casilinum> pro Casino dux ut acciperet fecit, auersusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Caiatinumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. 7 ubi cum montibus fluminibusque clausam

13.1 <Romanum (uel Romanorum)> hic Pauly, ante ducem Walters : om. P
cladibus P: cladibusque CA^b : et cladibus N : del. Walters, fort. recte

6 <os> hic Briscoe (post abhorrens Gron., post pronuntiatione Madvig) : om. P
<pronuntiatione> Madvig: prolatione Gron. : om. P

<Casilinum> hic Drak., ante dux A^b, fort. recte : om. P

Caiatinumque Kiehl/Stier : Calatinumque P: Callifanumque Madvig

regionem circumspexisset, uocatum ducem percontatur ubi terrarum esset. 8 cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; 9 uirgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communis Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum praedatum dimisit. 10 usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea peruenit. ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius Numidae fecerunt; 11 nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimouit, uidelicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum uinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

- 14 Vt uero, <post>quam ad Volturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager uillaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa; 2 quieuerant enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. 3 ut uero in extrema iuga Massici montis uentum est <et> hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, 4 'spectatum huc' inquit Minucius 'ad rem fruentam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia uenimus? nec, si nullius alterius nos ne ciuium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, 5 quam nunc non uicinus Samnis urit sed Poenus aduena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc progressus? 6 tantum pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris ut praeter quam oram illi Punicas uagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam factam uideamus? 7 qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem laeti spectamus. 8 fumus ex incendiis uillarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora uenit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius nostram quam deorum inuocantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per aestiuos saltus deuiasque calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus siluisque. 9 si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem uoluisset, quo hic nouus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recipere parat, Gallorum Roma esset, 10 quam uereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac Poenis totiens seruauerint maiores nostri. 11 sed uir ac uere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, cum esset satis altum Ianiculum ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. 12 quid? post multos annos cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste

sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samni perlustrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacescendo uictorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis ceruicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit? 13 modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas uictoriam dedit, quod postero die quam hostem uidit classem grauem com meatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque apparatu, oppressit? 14 stultitia est sedendo aut uotis debellari credere posse. arma capias oportet et descendas in aequum et uir cum uiro congrediari. audendo atque agendo res Romana creuit, non his segnibus consiliis quae timidi cauta uocant.’ 15 haec uelut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia euoluebantur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio duci praelaturos.

- 15 Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes intentus, prius ab illis inuictum animum praestat. quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum extrahit, 2 ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta uineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis fructibus. 3 haec per exploratores relata Fabio. cum satis sciret per easdem angustias quibus intrauerat Falernum agrum rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis, 4 quae urbs Volturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro diuidit; ipse iugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. 5 qui, ex turba iuuenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi uagos passim per uicos Numidas <...> per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, 6 extemplo occupatus certamine est animus excideruntque praecepta dictatoris, qui quantum tuto posset progressum prius recipere sese iusserat quam in conspectum hostium ueniret. 7 Numidae alii atque alii, occursantes refugientesque, ad castra prope ipsa eum cum fatigue equorum atque hominum pertraxere. 8 inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis inuectus, cum priusquam ad coniectum teli ueniret auertisset hostes, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientes. 9 Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec

14.14 arma capias *Madvig* : armari capias *P* : armari copias *M^cCNQEA*

15.5 <...> *sic lac. indicauit Briscoe* : <uidit> *hic Mog., post uicos Otto* : <prospexit> *C. Heraeus* : <prospectauit> *H.J.M.* : <aspexit> *Oehler* : <conspectit> *Novák* : <peruastantes uidit> *C-W*

spem uidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium rediit, omni parte uirium impar. 10 itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumuenti occiduntur; ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales primum, inde prope inuiis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

- 11 Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite peruenire in agrum Romanum posset. 12 coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in uiam deferunt qua Hannibal ducturus erat; duo inde milia hostes aberant.
- 16 postero die Poeni quod uiae inter bina castra erat agmine compleuere. 2 cum Romani sub ipso constitissent uallo haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equitibusque ad lacesendum hostem. carptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnauiere; restitit suo loco Romana acies; 3 lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit uoluntate. ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere. 4 inclusus inde uideri Hannibal uia ad Casilinum obsessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo diuitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subueheret, Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni harenas stagnaque et per horridas siluas hibernaturus esset; 5 nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. itaque cum per Casilinum euadere non posset petendique montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum uallibus agmen adgrederetur, 6 ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. 7 fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit. faces undique ex agris collectae fascisque uirgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. 8 ad duo milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.
- 17 Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boues aliquanto ante signa acti. 2 ubi ad radices montium uiasque angustas uentum est, signum extemplo datur ut accensis cornibus armenta in aduersos concitentur montes; et metus ipse relucens flammae a capite calorque iam ad uiuum ad imaque cornua ueniens uelut stimulos furore agebat boues. 3 quo repente discursu, haud secus quam siluis montibusque accensis, omnia circum uirgulta ardere; capitumque inrita quassatio excitans flammam

16.8 accensis cornibus *P*: *del. H.J.M. (susp. Wölfflin)*: accensis <in> cornibus <sarmentis>, *del.* 17.2 accensis cornibus armenta, *M. Müller, sic Weiss.* 17.2

hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. 4 qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumuentos se esse rati praesidio excessere. qua minime densae micabant flammae, uelut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boues palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. 5 et primo cum procul cernerent, ueluti flammās spirantium miraculo attoniti constiterunt; 6 deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum uero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. leui quoque armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit. 7 interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.

18 Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine, suos munimentis tenuit. 2 luce prima sub iugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis leuem armaturam facile (etenim numero aliquantum praestabant) Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale <su>peruenisset. 3 ea adsuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac leuior cum uelocitate corporum, tum armorum habitu, campestem hostem, grauem armis statariumque, pugnae genere facile elusit. 4 ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt. 5 Fabius quoque mouit castra transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. 6 tum, per Samnium Romam se petere simulans, Hannibal usque in Paelignos populabundus rediit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat nec absistens nec congregiēns. 7 ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium peruenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam: 8 dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. inde sacrorum causa Romam reuocatus, non imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, 9 ut plus consilio quam fortunae confidat et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur: ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam mouendo atque agendo proficere; 10 haud paruam rem esse ab totiēns uictore hoste uinci desisse ac ab continuis cladibus respirasse—haec nequiquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

19 Principio aestatis qua haec gerebantur in Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. 2 Hasdrubal ad eum nauium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adiecit; 3 quadraginta

navium classem Himilconi tradit atque ita Carthagine profectus naues prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus conflagrare quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. 4 Cn. Scipio postquam mouisse ex hibernis hostem audiuit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam nouorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naues imposito quinque et triginta navium classe ire obuiam hosti pergit. 5 altero ab Tarracone die <ad> stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis peruenit. inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita. 6 itaque ut improuidos incautosque universo simul offuso terrore opprimeret, sublatiis ancoris ad hostem uadit. multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis aduersus latrones utuntur. 7 inde primo conspectis hostium nauibus datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naues est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem promunturiis, 8 cum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus uagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die exspectantes, conscendere naues propere atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam iam haud procul portu esse. 9 haec equites dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat, uarioque omnia tumultu strepunt ruentibus in naues simul remigibus militibusque, fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. 10 uixdum omnes conscenderant cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras euehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt; raptimque omnia <ac> praepropere agendo militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. 11 et iam Romanus non appropinquabat modo sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naues. itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati et temptata uerius pugna quam in fuga auerterunt classem; 12 et cum aduersi amnis os lato agmini et tam multis simul uenientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naues egerunt, atque alii uadis alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati partim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naues, quattuor suppressae.

19.3 Himilconi *P*: Hamilcari *Luterbacher*

4 ad naues *P*: in naues *Valla*: ad <Tarraconem> (*uel* portum Tarraconensem)> nauib<u>s *Conway*

6 offuso *Walch*: effuso *P*

7 et ad naues *P*: 'ac naues ex usu *Liuiano exspectes*' *Luchs*: et *H.J.M.*: *del.* et mare et ad naues *Castiglioni*

11 turbati et *P*: turbati *dett.*

20 Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem toto praetentam in litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem, 2 naues omnes, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori inlitas aut carinas fixerant uadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere; ad quinque et uiginti naues e quadraginta cepere. 3 neque id pulcherrimum eius uictoriae fuit sed quod una leui pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant. 4 itaque ad Onussam classe prouecti; escensio ab nauibus in terram facta. cum urbem ui cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, 5 atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt. 6 inde iam praeda grauis ad Longunticam peruenit classis, ubi uis magna sparti <erat> ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. quod satis in usum fuit sublato ceterum omne incensum est. 7 nec continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata, 8 ubi in spem inritam frustra teri tempus animaduersum est, 9 ad populationem agri uersi, direptis aliquot incensisque uicis maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta cum in naues se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem uenerunt. 10 inde flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora prouinciae, quo omnium populorum qui <cis> Hiberum incolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt; 11 sed qui uere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sunt obsidibus datis, populi amplius fuerunt centum uiginti. 12 igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus; Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

21 Quietum inde fore uidebatur reliquum aestatis tempus fuissetque per Poenum hostem; 2 sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta auidaue in nouas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum regulus fuerat, 3 postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum uenerunt. 4 aduersus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi, leui certamine ut tumultuariam manum fudere mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis, magnaue

20.7 praelecta est ora *Madvig*: periectas oras *P*: praeuecta est (*uel* praeuecti sunt) oram *Weiss.*: perlecta est ora *Frigell*: praelecta ora *Novák*

21.4 tribunus militum *Gron.*: tribus militibus *P*: tribus milibus *P^c*: tribuni militum *Madvig*

fudere mille *Madvig*: fuderem *P*: fudere *P^c*

hominibus *Heerwagen*: omnis *P*: omnibus *P^c*

captis *P^c*: captisque *P*

parte armis exuta. 5 hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. 6 castra Punica in agro <I>lergauonensium, castra Romana ad Nouam Classem erant cum fama repens alio auertit bellum. 7 Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae legatos <miserant> obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione excitati arma capiunt prouinciamque Carthaginiensium ualido exercitu inuadunt. tria oppida ui expugnant; 8 inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnantes, quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

22 Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in prouinciam uenit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus, cum triginta longis nauibus et octo milibus militum magnoque commeatu aduecto. 2 ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul uisa cum magna laetitia ciuium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. 3 ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. 4 occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur nec ullo uiso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri praesidio. 5 id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. 6 eo uinculo Hispaniam uir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsoluit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis; tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutauerat fidem. 7 ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei proditione uenientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum uile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat ut quam maximum emolumentum nouis sociis esset. 8 circumspectis igitur omnibus quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam. 9 sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte adgreditur. 10 castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. ibi eum in secretum abductum, uelut ignorantem, monet quo statu sit res: 11 metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque nouas uolentibus res; itaque quos metus non teneat beneficio et gratia deuinciendos esse. 12 miranti Bostari percontantique quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, 13 ‘obsides’ inquit, ‘in ciuitates remitte. id et priuatim parentibus, quorum maximum

6 <I>lergauonensium *Alschevski* : Lergauonensium *P*

7 <miserant> *hic Gron., ante legatos Weiss. : om. P*

nomen in ciuitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. 14 uolt sibi quisque credi et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiuuem meum et rei suapte natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam possim adiciam.' 15 homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conuentis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret expromit, 16 et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos Saguntum redit. diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. 17 dimissus, cum se nocte iturum ut custodias hostium falleret constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, ueluti ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. 18 in castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. 19 maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. illos enim graues superbos in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse uideri poterat: 20 Romanus primo aduentu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat et Abelux, uir prudens, haud frustra uidebatur socios mutasse. 21 itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent ni hiemps, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, interuenisset.

- 23 Haec in Hispania secunda aestate Punici belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum interualli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabi fecisset; 2 quae ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret, 3 ita contempta erat inter ciues armatos pariter togatosque utique postquam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum laeto uerius dixerim quam prospero euentu pugnatum fuerat. 4 accesserant duae res ad augendam inuidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et uim omnem hostium abstineri iussit ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces uideri posset, 5 altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem uerso. 6 in permutandis captiuis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, conuenerat inter duces Romanum Poenumque ut quae pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret. 7 ducentis quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus recepisset argentumque pro eis

debitum, saepe iactata in senatu re, quoniam non consulisset patres, tardius erogaretur, 8 inuiolatum ab hoste agrum misso Romam Quinto filio uendidit, fidemque publicam impendio priuato exsoluit.

24 9 Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in statuiis erat. 10 inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris praesidio et circumspectans necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat; praeerat Minucius magister equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. 2 ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relictis cum leui praesidio fieret. 3 nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos; 4 ipse autem, quod minime quis crederet cum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum duabus in castris retentis dimisit; 5 dein castra ipsa propius hostem mouit, duo ferme a Gereonio milia, in tumultum hosti conspectum, ut intentum <se> sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua uis fieret, tutandos. 6 propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumultus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur quia haud dubie hostis breuiore uia praeuenturus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. 7 quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate Romani postero die cum <de>iecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. 8 ¶tum ut itaque¶ exiguum spatii uallum a uallo aberat et id ipsum totum ut prope compleuerat Romana acies, simul et per auersa castra equitatus cum leui armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. 9 nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate uix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat; 10 iamque artibus Fabi ¶pars exercitus aberat iam fame¶ sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat receperatque suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni moenibus erant. 11 iusta quoque acie et conlatis signis dimicatum quidam auctores

24.8 ¶tum ut itaque¶ *P*: itaque *Madvig*: tum utique *Weiss*.

9-10 tanta paucitate (paucietate *P*, corr. *R^eM^eC*) ... ¶pars exercitus aberat iam fame¶ *P*: del. pars ... aberat *Sanctius*, iam fame *Crév.*, pars ... fame *Tucking*: pars ... aberat *post* paucitate *Crév.*: pars exercitus ab(i)erat iam et tanta (uel tanta pars exercitus aberat et iam ea) paucitate uix ... poterat. iamque artibus Fabii *Madvig*: paucitate—nam pars ... aberat—uix ... *Wölfflin*: ... Fabii—pars ... aberat fame <cogente> *Weiss*.

sunt; primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum; inde eruptione facta repente uersum terrorem in Romanos; Numeri Decimi Samnitis deinde aduentu proelium restitutum. 12 hunc, principem genere ac diuitiis, non Bouiani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo milia peditum et equites ad <quingentos> ducentem in castra, ab tergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique praebuisse noui praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma uenientis. 13 Hannibalem, insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem, recepisse suos; Romanum insecutum adiuuante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. 14 sex milia hostium caesa, quinque admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade famam <uanam> egregiae uictoriae cum uanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

25 De iis rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione actum est. 2 cum laeta ciuitate dictator unus nihil nec famae nec litteris crederet, ut uera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam aduersa timere diceret, 3 tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id enim<uero> ferendum esse negat, 4 non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae sed absentem etiam gestae obstare, et in ducendo bello sedulo tempus terere quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu imperium habeat. 5 quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia ablegatum; 6 duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore prouincia praetore egeat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem uideret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia habitum. 7 itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit, sed et Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum peruastatos esse sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. 8 exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra uallum retentos; tamquam hostibus captiuis arma adempta. 9 tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra uallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostes. 10 quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. 11 nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset.

12 et equites ad (*uel om. ad*) <d> ducentem *Gron.* : et equites adducentem *P* : <mille> (et <mille> *Friedersdorff*) equites adducentem *Alscheffski* : et equites adducentem *H.J.M.*

14 <uanam> *hic C-W, ante famam Wölfflin, post tamen Geist* : *om. P*

12 Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime populari. ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur tunc, cum hostem uerbis extolleret biennique clades per temeritatem atque inscitiam ducum acceptas referret, 13 magistro equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnas-
set, rationem diceret reddendam esse. 14 si penes se summa imperii consilii-
que sit, propediem effecturum ut sciant homines bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, 15 et in tempore et sine ignominia seruasse exercitum quam multa milia hostium occidis-
se maiorem gloriam esse. 16 huius generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. 17 luce orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita inuidia dictatoris fauorque magistri equitum animos uersabat quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod uolgo placebat prodire, et fauore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. 18 unus inuentus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. 19 patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in seruilia eius artis ministeria usum.

26 Is iuuenis, ut <p>r<im>um ex eo genere quaestus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit, togaque et forum placuere, 2 proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque aduersus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores peruenit, 3 quaesturaque et duabus aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura, perfunctus, iam ad consulatus spem cum attolleret animos, 4 haud parum callide auram fauoris popularis ex dictatoria inuidia petiit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit.

5 Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt. 6 ipse, qua grauitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saeuientis iniuriam tulit; 7 acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris †s.c.† de aequato imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii iure artem imperandi aequatam, cum inuicto a ciuibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

27 Minucius uero cum iam ante uix tolerabilis fuisset rebus secundis ac fauore uolgi, 2 tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale

25.12 populari *det.* : popularis *P*

26.1 ut <p>r<im>um *Perizonius* : utrum *P* : multa *uel* grandi *Valla* : nimirum *Novák* : ut iam *Lutembacher* : ut <luc>rum *M. Müller* : ut *H.J.M.*

7 †s.c.† *P* : *om. det.* : senatus *E'*, *fort. recte* : consulis *dett.* : senatus<que> consulto *Gron.*

magis uicto ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari: 3 illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi aequatum in eadem ciuitate in qua magistri equitum uirgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint; 4 tantum suam felicitatem uirtutemque enituisse. ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitia deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret. 5 itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse quemadmodum imperio aequato utantur: 6 se optimum ducere aut diebus alternis aut, si maiora interualla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, 7 ut par hosti non consilio solum sed uiribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. 8 Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia fortunam eam habitura quamcumque temeritas collegae habuisset; sibi communicatum cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse; 9 itaque se nunquam uolentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum diuisurum suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quae posset seruaturum. 10 ita obtinuit ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se diuiderent. prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio euenerunt. 11 item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia diuiserunt. castris quoque separari magister equitum uoluit.

28 Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit; neque enim quicquam eorum quae apud hostes agerentur eum fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem: 2 nam et liberam Minuci temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabi dimidium uirium decessisse. 3 tumultus erat inter castra Minuci et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturum. 4 eum non tam capere sine certamine uolebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem semper occursurum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere. 5 ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo siluestre quicquam sed ne uepribus quidem uestitum habebat, 6 re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod in nuda ualle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in anfractibus cauae rupes, ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. 7 in has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque. 8 necubi tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in ualle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumultum auertit oculos hostium. 9 primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma uocat et uanis minis increpat hostem.

10 principio leuem armaturam emittit, deinde conferto agmine equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti uideret, instructis legionibus procedit. 11 et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia accrescente certamine mittens auxilia, peditum equitumque iam iustam expleuerat aciem, ac totis utrimque uiribus certatur. 12 prima leuis armatura Romanorum, praeoccupatum <ex> inferiore loco succedens tumultum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. 13 peditum acies inter percussos impauida sola erat uidebaturque, si iusta ac recta pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura; tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta; 14 sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

29 Tum Fabius, primo clamore pauentium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, 'ita est' inquit; 'non celerius quam timui deprenit fortuna temeritatem?' 2 Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et uirtute et fortuna superiorem uidet. sed aliud iurgandi suscensendique tempus erit: nunc signa extra uallum proferte; uictoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris ciuibus.' 3 iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies repente uelut caelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit. 4 itaque priusquam ad coniectum teli ueniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit. 5 qui solutis ordinibus uage dissipati erant undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conuersi in hostem uoluentesque orbem, nunc sensim referre pedem nunc conglobati restare. 6 ac iam prope una acies facta erat uicti atque integri exercitus inferebantque signa in hostem, cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio uictum.

7 Ita per uariam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius conuocatis militibus 8 'saepe ego' inquit 'audiui, milites, eum primum esse uirum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti oboediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. 9 nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus, et dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. 10 castra cum Fabio iungamus. ad praetorium eius signa cum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellauero, quod beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, 11 uos, milites, eos quorum uos modo arma dexterarum texerunt patronos salutabitis, et si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit.'

- 30 Signo dato conclamatur inde ut colligantur uasa. profecti et agmine incedentes <ad> dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant conuerterunt. 2 ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset circumfususque militum eius totum agmen patronos consalutasset, 3 'parentibus inquit 'meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine quo<d> fando possum aequaui, uitam tantum debeo, tibi cum meam salutem, tum omnium horum. 4 itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus sum magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihiq, quod exercitibus his tuis, seruato ac conseruatori sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa haec legionesque restituo. 5 tu, quaeso, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere iubeas.' 6 tum dextrae interiunctae militesque contione dimissa ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter inuitati, laetusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabili factus. 7 Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam uolgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre. 8 par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; 9 nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreuerant ut uix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent cuius terribilem famam a patribus acceperant. 10 Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt tandem eam nubem quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit cum procella imbrem dedisse.
- 31 Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Seruilius Geminus consul, cum classe <centum uiginti> nauium circumuectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram, et obsidibus utrimque acceptis in Africam transmisit 2 et priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Menige insula uastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit. 3 inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites naualesque socii iuxta effusi ac si <in> insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur. 4 itaque in insidias temere inlati, cum a frequentibus palantes ab †locorum et ignari gnaris† circumuenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naues compulsi sunt. 5 ad mille hominum cum Ti. Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amissum, classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, 6 traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato eius P. Cincio Romam reduceretur. 7 ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam traiecit,

31.4 ab *Gron.* : ad *P*

†locorum et ignari gnaris† *P* : et ignari ab locorum gnaris *Alschefski* : et locorum ignari (*sic M^{ΛE}*) ab gnaris *Frigell*

litteris Q. Fabi accitus et ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semestri imperio acciperent.

8 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem aduersus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. 9 sed et Coelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Seruilio, qui tum procul in Gallia prouincia aberat, ius fuisse dicendi dictatoris; 10 quam moram quia exspectare territa <tertia> iam clade ciuitas non poterat, eo decursum esse ut a populo crearetur qui pro dictatore esset; 11 res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut qui pro dictatore <creatus esset, dictator> crederetur, facile obtinuisse.

32 Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Seruilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, <quod reli>quum autumnus erat Fabi artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. 2 frumentum exeunti Hannibali diuersis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum uniuersae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non ueniebant, 3 adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal ut nisi cum fugae specie abeundum timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla spe relictā alendi exercitus in eis locis si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

4 Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediēte constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam uenere. ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque ita uerba facta ut dicerent 5 scire sese populi Romani aerarium bello exhauriri, et cum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae urbe Romana atque imperio geratur, 6 aequum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuuare populum Romanum. 7 si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturus. gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, 8 dignosque iudicauerint ab quibus donum animo ac uoluntate eorum qui libentes darent quam re maius ampliusque acciperent. 9 legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

33 Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque manibus dimissus, 2 et serui quinque et uiginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio coniurassent; indici data

10 <tertia> iam *Lentz* : iam *P* : tum *Lutembacher* : tanta *H.J.M.*

32.3 adeoque inopia est coactus *P* : sic, sed coartatus *C. Heraeus* : et ad id (ad idque *Drak.*, eoque *Burman*) inopiae est redactus *Gron.*

7 sese *P* : sese <esse> *Wesenberg*

libertas et aeris grauis uiginti milia. 3 legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello uictus ad eum fugisset, 4 et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis iuissent, simul ad uisendum ex propinquo quae in Boiis atque Insubribus gererentur. 5 ad Pinnem quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferri uellet, obsides accipiendos. 6 adeo, etsi bellum ingens in ceruicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae quidem, effugiebat. 7 in religionem etiam uenit aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia uouisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. 8 itaque duumuii ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano, C. Pupius et Caeso Quinctius Flamininus, aedem in arce faciendam locauerunt.

9 Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae ut, si iis uideretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam ueniret; se in eam diem quam iussissent comitia edicturum. 10 ad haec a consulibus rescriptum sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius quam consul alter a bello auocaretur. 11 patribus rectius uisum est dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. dictus L. Veturius Philo M. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. 12 iis uitio creatis iussisque die
34 quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum res rediit. consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi filius Centho, inde P. Cornelius Asina. in eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. 2 C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena inuidia splendentem uolgens extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent homines. 3 Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per inuidiam eorum fauorem candidato suo conciliabat: 4 ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quaerentibus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. 5 cum quattuor legionibus uniuersis pugnari posse apparuisset eo quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere

33.5 Pinnem *Schulze* : Pineum *P*

34.1 proditi *A*^c : proditius *P*

5 pugnari *P* : pugnari <prosperere> *uel* <aequis uiribus> *uel* <sine damno> *Harant* : <de>pugnari *H.J.M.*

pugnasset, 6 duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas ut pater patronusque appellaretur qui prius uincere prohibuisset Romanos quam uinci. 7 consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem uere plebeium, id est hominem nouum, fecissent; 8 nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni patribus desierint, coepisse. 9 cui non apparere id actum et quaesitum esse ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? 10 id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id postea, quia inuitis iis dictator esset dictus comiti-
orum causa, expugnatum esse ut uitiosus dictator per augures fieret. 11 habere igitur interregnum eos: consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse; populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei qui mature uincere quam diu imperare malit.

35 Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda L. Manlio Volgone M. Aemilio Lepido, 2 duobus nobilium iam familiarum plebeiis, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae. 3 tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse uirium in competitoribus eius, L. Aemilium Paullum, qui cum M. Liuius consul fuerat et damnatione collegae tet sua† prope ambustus euaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. 4 is proximo comitali die, concedentibus omnibus qui cum Varrone certauerant, par magis in aduersandum quam collega datur consuli. 5 inde praetorum comitia habita. creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius <Philus>; Philo Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter ciues Romanos et peregrinos euenit; 6 additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. 7 omnes absentes creati sunt nec cuiquam eorum praeter Terentium consulem mandatus honos quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis uiris, quia in tali tempore nulli nouus magistratus uidebatur mandandus.

36 Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint adeo et numero et genere copiarum uariant

10 id *P*: et *Weiss.*: <ob> id *Wölfflin*: del. *Riemann*: id<eo> *C. Heraeus*

11 esse *M^cCA'*: esset *P*: esse, eum *Luchs*

mature *Kiehl*: magis uere *P*: magis Λ : uere *C-W*

35.2 nobilium iam *Freinsheim*: nobilibus iam *P*: nobilibus *Wölfflin*

4 aduersandum *P*: aduersando *Fügner*

auctores ut uix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. 2 decem milia nouorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii nouas quattuor legiones ut octo legionibus rem gererent; 3 numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina milia peditum, treceni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent peditis aequarent, 4 septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis <fuisse> cum pugnatum ad Cannas est quidam auctores sunt. 5 illud haudquaquam discrepat maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse uinci hostem dictator praebuerat.

6 Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe nouae legiones mouerent, decem- uiri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter territores uolgo homines nouis prodigiis. 7 nam et Romae in Auentino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluuisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, †caedes† aquas fonte calidas manasse; 8 id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat; et in uia fornicata, quae ad Campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. ea prodigia ex libris procurata. 9 legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

37 Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno commeatu accessit. 2 legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt caedem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque allatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moueri magis potuerit. 3 itaque, quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope aduersis rebus quam secundis esse, 4 <ta>men se omnia quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuuari soleant misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. 5 iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac uiginti adferre sese. acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. 6 aduexisse etiam trecenta milia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset quo iussissent subuecturos. 7 milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum: leuium armorum auxilia etiam externa uidisse in castris Romanis.

36.4 <fuisse> *hic Madvig, ante Romanis Grysar-Bitschofsky : om. P : fuisse pro est quidam Perizonius*

7 †caedes† *P : sed et C : sudasse det., Aⁿ : Caeretes Gron. : Caedis uel Caedicias Böttcher : Cediis Bezenberger : sudasse et Madvig : sudasse post cruore Riemann : sudasse et Caeretes Luchs : Caedicias Nissen*

fonte calidas *Briscoe (sic, sed aquasque e fonte Λ) : fonte callidos (calidos C) P : fonte cruentas Crév. : fonte calido <gelidas> (<frigidas> Wölfflin) Alschevski : in fonte calido Luterbacher : del. Walters*

8 itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum aduersus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. 9 ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant ut praetor, cui prouincia Sicilia euenisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. 10 ab senatu ita responsum regi est: uirum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani uenerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuuisse. id perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. 11 aurum et a ciuitatibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum; 12 Victoriā omenque accipere sedemque ei se diuā dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iouis optimi maximi, in ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam uolentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. 13 funditores sagittarii et frumentum traditum consulibus. quinqueres ad <...> nauium classem quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat quinque et uiginti additae, permissumque est ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

38 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies dum ab sociis ac nomine Latino uenirent milites. 2 tum, quod nunquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti milites; 3 nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat iussu consulū conuenturos neque iniussu abituros; et ubi ad decuriandum aut centuriandum conuenissent, sua uoluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites, 4 centuriati pedites coniurabant sese fugae atque formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi et aut hostis feriendi aut ciuis seruandi causa. 5 id ex uoluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.

6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa mouerentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere denuntiantis bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus, mansurumque in uisceribus rei publicae 7 si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se quo die hostem uidisset perfecturum. 8 collegae eius Paulli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, uerior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, 9 mirari se quod ne qui dux priusquam aut suum aut hostium

37.8 mille *P*: <ter> mille *P. Rubenius*

13 <...> *lac. ind. Weiss.*: <cxx> *Gron.*: <l> *Lutembacher*: <c> *post nauium Böttcher*

38.4 sumendi aut petendi *P*: sumendi aut <re>petendi *uel* petendi *Crév.*: sumendi aut aptandi (*uel* <...> petendi) *Madvig*: sumendi *Novák*

9 †quod ne qui† *P*: quo modo (*uel* quemadmodum *uel* quod aliquis) *Valla*: qui *Haupt*: quod nouus *Fabri*: quod aliqui *Wölfflin*: quidni, qui, *om.* 10 et, *Zachariae*: quinam *C. Heraeus*: quo modo qui *Conway*

exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret quae sibi agenda armato forent, 10 et diem quoque praedicere posset qua cum hoste signis conlatis esset dimicaturus: 11 se quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non praecepturum; optare ut quae caute ac consulte gesta essent satis prospere euenirent; 12 temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. 13 et sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et quo id constantius perseueraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur.

- 39 'Si aut collegam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, superuacanea esset oratio mea; 2 nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica fide uestra faceretis, et mali nec mea uerba auribus uestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. 3 nunc et collegam tuum et te talem uirum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem uideo nequiquam et uirum bonum et ciuem fore, si altera parte claudente re publica malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. 4 erras enim, L. Paulle, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic aduersarius quam ille hostis maneat; 5 cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus et aduersus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit oppugnaturus. 6 ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria. tamen ille consul demum et in prouincia et ad exercitum coepit furere: hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra uideat aut hostem, insanit. 7 et qui tantas iam nunc procellas, proelia atque acies iactando, inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuuentutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res uerba sequitur? 8 atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnauerit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit. 9 nec gloriandi tempus aduersus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi aduersus Hannibalem est qua ego gessi. 10 nec euentus modo hoc docet—stultorum iste magister est—sed eadem ratio, quae fuit futuraque donec res eaedem manebunt, immutabilis est. 11 in Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena ciuium ac sociorum sunt; armis uiris equis commeatibus iuuant iuuabuntque: 12 id iam fidei documentum in aduersis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores prudentiores constantiores nos tempus diesque facit. 13 Hannibal contra in aliena in hostili est terra inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo ab patria; neque

39.2 indicente *det.* : indigentes *P* fide *P*: fide<que> *Perizonius*

4 maneat *ed. Rom.* : maneat et *P*: maneat te *Madvig*

illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui uidet, in diem rapto uiuit; 14 partem uix tertiam exercitus eius habet quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti; nec his paucis iam uictus suppeditat. 15 dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus non supplementum non pecuniam habeat? 16 quam diu pro Gereoni, castelli Apuliae inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus sed<et? 17 sed> ne aduersus te quidem <de m>e gloriabor: Seruilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, uide quemadmodum eum ludificati sint. haec una salutis est uia, L. Paulle, quam difficilem infestamque ciues tibi magis quam hostes facient. 18 idem enim tui quod hostium milites uolent; idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. resistes autem, aduersus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae uana gloria neque tua falsa infamia mouerit. 19 ueritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, extinguere nunquam. <uanam> gloriam qui spreuerit, ueram habebit. 20 sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli uocent. malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti ciues laudent. omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. 21 nec ego ut nihil agatur <hortor> sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasione tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. 22 omnia non properanti clara certaue erunt; festinatio improuida est et caeca.'

40 Aduersus ea consulis oratio haud sane laeta fuit, magis fatentis ea quae diceret uera quam facilia factu esse; 2 dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli aduersus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium uirium atque auctoritatis fore? 3 se populare incendium priore consulatione semustum effugisse; optare ut omnia prospere euenirent; sed si quid aduersi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum ciuium caput obiecturum.

4 Ab hoc sermone profectum Paullum tradunt prosequentibus primoribus patrum: plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior cum dignitates deessent. 5 ut in castra uenerunt, permixto nouo exercitu ac uetere, castris bifariam factis, ut noua minora essent propius Hannibalem, in ueteribus maior pars et omne robur uirium esset, 6 consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, aetatem excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Seruilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium

13 rapto *A'*: capto *P*

16-17 sed<et sed> *Perizonius*: sed *P*: sedet *Valla*

17 Seruilius ... Atilius *Luchs*: *P. Seruilius* ... Atilius *P*: *Cn. Seruilius* ... *M. Atilius det.*

21 <hortor> *Novák*: *om. P*

peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. 7 Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen aduentu consulum mire gaudere. 8 non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem com meatibus superabat sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas conuecto, 9 ut uix decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

41 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. 2 ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. ceterum uictoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paullus consul, 3 cuius eo die—nam alternis imperitabant—imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac uociferante emissum hostem e manibus debellarique ni cessatum foret potuisse. 4 Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati; quin potius credere uelut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac nouorum maxime militum esse. 5 et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tiro- num militum in exercitu esse. 6 itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite castra plena omnis fortunae publicae priuataeque relinquit, 7 transque proximos montes laeua pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per conuallem mediam traducit, 8 ut diripiendis uelut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. 9 crebri relictis in castris ignes, ut fides fieret dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules uoluisse.

42 Vbi inluxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. 2 tum satis comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. 3 clamor inde ortus ut signa proferri iuberent ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda et consul alter uelut unus turbae militaris erat: 4 Paullus etiam atque etiam dicere prouidendum praecauendumque esse; postremo, cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem

41.5 dissimiles discordesque *P*: dissimiles discordesque <consules> *Luchs*: <duces> dissimiles discordesque *Wölfflin*: <duces> *post* imperitare *Oehler*

seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. 5 qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis, ipse cum duobus equitibus uallum intrauit speculatusque omnia cum cura renuntiat insidias profecto esse: 6 ignes in parte castrorum quae uergat in hostem relictos; tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relictas; argentum quibusdam locis temere per uias uel<ut> obiectum ad praedam uidisse. 7 quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. 8 Paullus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiarum iam efferenti porta signa collegae iussit. 9 quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata naualis clades religionem animo incussit. 10 di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita euenit ut cum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites non parerent, 11 serui duo, Formiani unus alter Sidicini equitis, qui Seruilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos; deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. 12 horum opportunus aduentus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos praua indulgentia maiestatem soluisset.

43 Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere euectos uidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra rediit. 2 ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, nouaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conluuione omnium gentium sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. 3 nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta uociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo postremo famem, et mercennarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, 4 ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse ita ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. 5 cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, mouere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul quod <quo> longius ab hoste recessisset, eo transfugia impeditiora leuibus ingeniis essent. 6 profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. 7 sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, cum relatum esset uisum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta. 8 cum utriusque consulis eadem

quae ante semper fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paullo nemo praeter Seruiliū, prioris anni consulem, adsentiretur, 9 <ex> maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. 10 prope eum uicum Hannibal castra posuerat auersa a Volturino uento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulueris uehit. 11 id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare praecipue futurum erat cum aciem derigerent, ipsi auersi terga tantum adflante uento in occaecatum puluere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

44 Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut uentum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme interuallo quo ad Gereonium sicut ante copiis diuisis. 2 Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris adfluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; 3 ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. 4 Hannibal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte uirium inuictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. 5 inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulū Romana castra, cum Paullus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro <Paullo> speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, 6 testareturque deos hominesque hic nullam penes se culpam esse quod Hannibal iam uelut usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus: 7 ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improuidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpa exsortem, omnis euentus participem fore diceret; uideret ut quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aequae in pugna uigerent manus.

45 Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, 2 Numidas ad inuadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. 3 quam inconditam turbam cum uixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro uallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas euecti sunt. 4 id uero indignum uisum ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa ne extemplo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem tenuerit Romanos quod summa imperii eo die penes Paillum fuerit. 5 itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paullo quia magis non probare quam non adiuuare consilium poterat. 6 transgressi flumen eas quoque quas in castris minoribus habuerant copias

suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem; in dextro cornu—id erat flumini propius—Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites: 7 laeuum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; †iaculatores ex ceteris† leuium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. 8 consules cornua tenuere, Terentius laeuum, Aemilius dextrum: Gemino Seruilio media pugna tuenda data.

46 Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus leuique alia armatura praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, 2 Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laeuo in cornu aduersus Romanum equitatum; 3 dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie pedibus firmata ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. 4 Afros Romanam crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. 5 Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctum magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem, breuitate habiles et cum mucronibus. ante alios habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat: 6 Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. numerus omnium peditum qui tum stetere in acie milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. 7 duces cornibus praeerant sinistro Hasdrubal dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. 8 sol seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita stetere peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septentrionem uersis; 9 uentus—Vulturnum regionis incolae uocant—aduersus Romanis coortus multo puluere in ipsa ora uoluendo prospectum ademit.

47 Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna leuibibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laeuum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnae; 2 frontibus enim aduersis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad euagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis hinc peditum acies claudebant. 3 in directum utrimque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis uir uirum amplexus detrahebat equo. pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est pulsique Romani equites terga uertunt. 4 sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et uiribus et animis par dum constabant ordines Gallis

45.7 †iaculatores ex ceteris† *P*: sic, sed tenuerunt iaculatores. ex ceteris *distinxit Drak.* : iaculatores et cetera ... auxilia *Gron.* : iaculatores cum ceteris *Doujat* : ex ceteris *Madvig*

Hispanisque; 5 tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, aequa fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum ualidum, a cetera prominentem acie. 6 impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere ac tenore uno per praeceps pauore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem inlati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum peruenerunt, 7 qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. 8 qui cuneus ut pulsus aequauit frontem primum, deinde cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant inruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. 9 hinc Romani, defuncti nequiquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, aduersus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, 10 non tantum eo iniquam quod inclusi aduersus circumfusos sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac uegetis pugnant.

48 Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites aduersus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. 2 quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loriceis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, 3 parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considerare ab tergo iubentur. ac dum proelium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; 4 postquam omnium animos oculosque occupauerat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, auersam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pauorem ac tumultum fecerunt. 5 cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum aduersis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit, 6 Hispanos et Gallos pedites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

49 Parte altera pugnae Paullus, quamquam primo statim proelio funde grauitus ictus fuerat, 2 tamen et occurrit saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, 3 omissis postremo equis, quia consulem ad regendum equum uires

47.5 aequa *P*: qua *P*^c: <obli>qua *Lipsius*

48.5 Hasdrubal *P*: Maharbal (*uel* qua *pro* qui ea) *Glar.*: Hasdrubal <... Maharbal *uel* cum Maharbale> *Weiss.*: Hasdrubal <coniunctus iam Maharbali> *uel* <quocum ab sinistra uictore et iam transgresso coniunxerat se Maharbal> *Conway*
qui ea parte praeerat *P*: qua parte praeerat <uictor> *Gron.*: qui <uictor ad> eam partem pene<trau>erat *Perizonius*: *del. Riemann*

deficiebant. tum denuntianti cuidam iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites dixisse Hannibalem ferunt 'quam mallem, uinctos mihi traderet.' 4 equitum pedestre proelium quale iam haud dubia hostium uictoria fuit, cum uicti mori in uestigio mallent quam fugere, uictores morantibus uictoriam irati trucidarent quos pelleri non poterant. 5 pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantes et labore ac uolneribus fessos. inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. 6 Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praeteruehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem uidisset, 7 'L. Aemili' inquit, 'quem unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi uirium aliquid superest <et> comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. 8 ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.' 9 ad ea consul: 'tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte uirtute esto; sed caue frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium euadendi absumas. 10 abi, nuntia publice patribus urbem Romanam muniant ac priusquam uictor hostis adueniat praesidiis firment; priuatim Q. Fabio <L.> Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et uixisse adhuc et mori. 11 me in hac strage militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim <aut> accusator collegae existam ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam.' 12 haec eos agentes prius turba fugientium ciuium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes quis esset obruere telis, Lentulum in<ter> tumultum abripuit equus.

Tum und<iqu>e effuse fugiunt. 13 septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in uicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus nullo munimento tegente uicum circumuenti sunt. 14 consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. 15 quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites, et tantadem prope ciuium sociorumque pars, caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, 16 et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetorii et aedilicii—inter eos Cn. Seruilius Geminus et M. Minucius numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante <consul> fuerat—17 octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in senatum legi deberent cum sua uoluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. 18 capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

49.15 et tantadem (*uel* rata) *Madvig*: etanta *P*: et tanta *Γ*: et aequa *uel* et tanta ciuium qua<nta> *Gron.*: e tanta <multitudine par> *Frigell*: et aequata *C. Heraeus*

50 Haec est pugna <Cannensis>, Alliensi cladi nobilitate par, 2 ceterum ut illis quae post pugnam accidere leuior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus grauior foediorque. 3 fuga namque ad Alliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum seruauit: ad Cannas fugientem consulem uix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

4 Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus esset, nuntium qui in maioribus erant mittunt, dum proelio deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. 5 eam sententiam alii totam aspernari; cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non uenire, cum aequae coniungi possent? quia uidelicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. 6 aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse: P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum 'capi ergo mauoltis' inquit 'ab auarissimo et crudelissimo hoste aestimarique capita uestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus Romanus ciuis sis an Latinus socius, et ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur? 7 non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter uiuere maluit, et tot fortissimorum uirorum qui circa eum cumulati iacent ciues estis. 8 sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsaepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. 9 ferro atque audacia uia fit quamuis per confertos hostes. cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disicias. itaque ite mecum qui et uosmet ipsos et rem publicam saluam uoltis.' 10 haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios uadit hostes, 11 et cum in latus dextrum quod patebat Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in maiora castra ad sescenti euaserunt atque inde protinus alio magno agmine adiuncto Canusium incolumes perueniunt. 12 haec apud uictos magis impetu animorum, quos ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

51 Hannibali uictori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur suaderentque ut tanto perfunctus bello diei quod reliquum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, 2 Maharbal praefectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus, 'immo ut quid hac pugna sit actum scias, die quinto' inquit 'uictor in Capitolio epulaberis. sequere; cum equite, ut prius uenisse quam uenturum sciant, praecedam.' 3 Hannibali nimis laeta res est uisa maiorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. itaque uoluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium

50.3 prope ... fuit *M^cCA^b* : *sic, sed totius P* : <sors> prope totius ... *Liebhold* : ... <comes> (<socius> *Watt*) fuit *Shackleton Bailey*

6 *P. P.* : <tum> *P. Luchs* : <ecce> *P. Rossbach*

pensandum temporis opus esse. 4 tum Maharbal, ‘non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere. uincere scis, Hannibal, uictoria uti nescis.’ mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

5 Postero die ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt. 6 iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga; adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitauerant uulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; 7 quosdam et iacentes uiuos succisis feminibus poplitibusque inuenerunt, nudantes ceruicem iugulumque et reliquum sanguinem iubentes haurire; 8 inuenti quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus quos si<bi> ipsos fecisse foueas obruentesque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. 9 praecipue conuertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano uiuus naso auribusque laceratis, cum manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira uersa laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

52 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda et omnium primum brachio obiecto flumine eos excludit; 2 ceterum ab omnibus, labore uigiliis uulneribus etiam fessis, maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. pacti ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in seruos centenis, 3 et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent uestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum ciues sociique. 4 dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis uirium et animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti. 5 praeda ingens parta est, et praeter equos uirosque et si quid argenti—quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad uescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur—omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est. 6 tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit; ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum uirorum. consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

7 Eos qui Canusium perfugerant mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac diuitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos,

51.5 insistunt *P*: exeunt *Madvig*: surgunt *Koch*: insistunt <ire> *M. Müller*: <ire> ad ... insistunt *H.J.M.*

9 cum ... inutilibus *P*: cum <ille> ... inutilibus *H.J.M.*: cum ... inutilibus <Romanus> *Riemann*: cum <Romanus> ... inutilibus *Zingerle*

52.7 Apula *Lipsius*: Apaula *P*: Paula *P'*

- frumento ueste uiatico etiam iuuit, pro qua ei munificentia postea bello
53 perfecto ab senatu honores habiti sunt. ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum
 quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore
 anno dictator fuerat, 2 et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P.
 Cornelius Scipio, et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime
 aedilis fuerat, 3 omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem, admodum adulescen-
 tem, et ad Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est. 4 quibus consultanti-
 bus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis uiri
 filius, nequiquam eos perditam spem fouere; desperatam comploratam-
 que rem esse publicam: 5 nobiles iuuenes quosdam, quorum principem
 L. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naues spectare, ut deserta Italia ad
 regum aliquem transfugiant. 6 quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super
 tot clades etiam nouum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui
 aderant et consilium aduocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem
 esse Scipio iuuenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli: 7 audendum atque agen-
 dum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse. irent secum extemplo
 armati qui rem publicam saluam uellent; 8 nulla uerius quam ubi ea cog-
 itentur hostium castra esse. 9 pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium
 Metelli, et cum concilium ibi iuuenum de quibus allatum erat inuenis-
 set, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, 10 'ex mei animi sententia'
 inquit 'ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram neque alium
 ciuem Romanum deserere patiar; 11 si sciens fallo, tum me, Iuppiter
 optime maxime, domum familiam remque meam pessimo leto adfacias.
 12 in haec uerba, L. Caecili, iures postulo, ceterique qui adestis. qui non
 iurauerit in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat.' 13 haud secus pauidi
 quam si uictorem Hannibalem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque
 semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.
- 54** Eo tempore quo haec Canusi agebantur Venusiam ad consulem ad
 quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros
 fuerant, peruenere. 2 eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipi-
 endos curandosque cum diuisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas
 et quadrigatos nummos quinos uicenos, et pediti denos et arma quibus
 deerant dederunt, 3 ceteraque publice ac priuatim hospitaliter facta cer-
 tatatumque ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis uinceretur. 4
 sed grauius onus Busae multitudo faciebat, et iam ad decem milia hom-
 inum erant; 5 Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum
 consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt quantae secum pedi-
 tum equitumque copiae essent sciscitatumque simul utrum Venusiam
 adduci exercitum an manere iuberet Canusi. 6 Varro ipse Canusium

copias traduxit; et iam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat moenibusque se certe, etsi non armis, ab hoste uidebantur defensuri.

7 Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse ciuium sociorumque sed occidione occisum cum duobus <...> exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat. 8 nunquam salua urbe tantum pauoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. itaque succumbam oneri neque adgrediar narrare quae edissertando minora uero faciam. 9 consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso, non uolnus super uolnus sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse; 10 Hannibalis Apuliam Samnium ac iam prope totam Italiam factam. nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. 11 compares cladem ad Aegates insulas Carthaginiensium proelio nauali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere, ††† uectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam aduersam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit; nulla ex parte comparandae sunt nisi quod minore animo latae sunt.

55 P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam uocauerunt, ut de urbis custodia consulerent; 2 neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, uenturum. 3 cum in malis sicuti ingentibus ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum et nondum palam facto uiui mortuique et per omnes paene domos promiscue complorarentur, 4 tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina uia mittendos qui obuios percontando—aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore—referant quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit, 5 et si quid di immortales miseriti imperii reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret quid agat acturusque sit. 6 haec exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuuenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, 7 comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent, suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem expectent, 8 custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe cogantque homines nullam nisi

54.7 duobus <...> exercitum *sic lac. ind. Briscoe* : duobus exercitibus *P* : duobus <consulibus> exercitum *Gron.* : ducibus exercitum *Lutcherbach* : duobus <consularibus ducibus> exercitum *Conway*

11 ††† *P* : hinc † : inde *Alschefski* : et *Madvig* : fort. delendum

urbe ac moenibus saluis salutem sperare. ubi conticuerit tumultus, tum in curiam patres reuocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

56 Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent summotaque foro <per> magistratus turba patres diuersi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae a C. Terentio consule allatae sunt: 2 L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusi esse, reliquias tantae cladis uelut ex naufragio colligentem; ad decem milia militum ferme esse incompositorum inordinatorumque; 3 Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captiuorum pretiis praedaeque alia nec uictoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem. 4 tum priuatae quoque per domos clades uolgatae sunt adeoque totam urbem oppleuit luctus ut sacrum anniuersarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. 5 itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut priuata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. 6 ceterum cum sedato urbis tumultu reuocati in curiam patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore, 7 regnum Hieronis classe Punica uastari; cui cum opem imploranti ferre tuellent nuntiatum his est† aliam classem ad Aegates insulas stare paratam instructamque, 8 ut ubi se uersum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo prouinci- amque aliam Romanam adgrederentur; itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri uellent.

57 Litteris consulis praetorisque <...> M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum scribendumque consuli ut cum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam ueniret. 2 territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Flordia, stupri compertae et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciuerat; 3 L. Cantilius scriba pontificius, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Flordia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque uirgis in comitio caesus erat ut inter uerbera exspiraret. 4 hoc nefas

56.2 decem *P*: <quattuor>decim *Gron*.

7 †uellent ... est† *P*: uellet ... sibi esse *Mog.*: uellent <sui> ... his esse *Heerwagen*: sic, sed <a se missi> *Weiss.*, <praefecti ab se missi> *C-W*: fort. uellet, nuntiatum

57.1 praetorisque *P*: <pro>praetorisque *Ald.*, fort. recte

<...> sic lac. ind. *Briscoe*: perlectis *E*: censent uel perlectis censuerunt *dett.*: (om. litteris) censuerunt praetorem *Gron.*: <lectis censuere patres> uel <censuit senatus> *Walters*

3 pontificius *van Vaassen*: pontificis *P*

cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium uersum esset, decemuiri libros adire iussi sunt, 5 et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare et quae-
nam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. 6 interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quae Gallus et Galla Graecus et Graeca in foro bouario sub terram uiui demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

7 Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites quos in classem scriptos habebat Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; 8 ipse legione classica—ea legio tertia erat—cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegae paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. 9 inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum dilectu edicto iuniores ab annis septemdecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt; quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. 10 item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt. arma tela, alia parari iubent et uetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. 11 et formam noui dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo milia iuuenum ualidorum ex seruitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos uellentne militare, empti publice armauerunt. 12 hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore redimendi captiuos copia fieret.

58 Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam uictoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum captiuis productis segregatisque socios, 2 sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque uocatos, quod nunquam alias antea, satis miti sermone adloquitur: 3 non internecium sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. et patres uirtuti Romanae cessisse et se id adniti ut suae in uicem simul felicitati et uirtuti cedatur. 4 itaque redimendi se captiuis copiam facere; pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, seruo centenos. 5 quamquam aliquantum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium quo pepigerant dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcumque conditionem paciscendi acceperunt. 6 placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei quam ut iurarent se redituros acceptum. 7 missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinarent animos, condiciones ferret. 8 cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, ueluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi soluendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites adsequitur. 9 ubi Romam uenire eos nuntiatum est,

58.7 inclinarent animos *A*^b: inclinaret animos *P*: inclinaret animus *det.*: inclinarent animi *Perizonius*: inclinare <cernere> animos *Koch*

Carthalonī obuīam lictor missus, qui dictatoris uerbis nuntiaret ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

59 Legatis captiuorum senatus ab dictatore datus est, quorum princeps: 'M. Iuni u<o>sque, patres conscripti' inquit, 'nemo nostrum ignorat nulli unquam ciuitati uiliores fuisse captiuos quam nostrae; 2 ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus neglegendi uobis quam nos in hostium potestatem uenerunt. 3 non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; 4 diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac uolneribus, uallum sumus tutati; 5 postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu uictore aqua arceremur nec ulla iam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset nec esse nefas duceremus quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, 6 tunc demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat hosti tradidimus. 7 maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse et patres uestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captiuorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse. 8 atqui et <ad> Alliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pauore et fuga pugna fuit: Cannenses campos acerui Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et uires hostem defecerunt. 9 sunt etiam de nostris quidam qui ne in acie quidem fuerunt sed praesidio castris relictī, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium uenerunt. 10 haud equidem ullius ciuis et commilitonis fortunae aut conditioni inuideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse uelim: ne illi quidem, nisi pernecitatis pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. 11 sed illis et bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio uestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. 12 dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia seruorum audio armari. non minor numerus noster est nec maiore pretio redimi possumus quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, iniuriam nomini Romano faciam. 13 illud etiam in tali consilio animaduertendum uobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam duriores esse uelitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. 14 Pyrrho uidelicet, qui hospitem numero captiuos habuit? an barbaro ac

59.1 M. Iuni u<o>sque *Harant* : M. Iuniusque *P* : M. Iunius *P^c*

11 illis et *P* : illis ut *M^aP^b* : et illis *Crév.* : illis et <nobis> *Heerwagen*

Poeni, qui utrum auarior an crudelior sit uix existimari potest? 15 si uideatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem ciuium uestrorum, non minus profecto uos ea species moueat quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones uestras. 16 intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in uestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum expectantiumque responsum uestrum. cum ii pro nobis proque iis qui absunt ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse quorum in discrimine uita libertasque est? 17 si, mediusfidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse uelit, nihil tamen nobis uita opus esse censeamus cum indigni ut redimeremur uobis uisi simus. 18 rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio captiui; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus ciuitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus ciuis? 19 suum quisque animum, patres conscripti. scio in discrimine esse uitam corpusque meum; magis me famae periculum mouet, ne a uobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim uos pretio pepercisse homines credent.'

60 Vbi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba quae in comitio erat clamor flebilis est sublatus manusque ad curiam tendebant, orantes ut sibi liberos fratres cognatos redderent. 2 feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro turbae uirorum immiscuerat. senatus summotis arbitris consuli coeptus. 3 ibi cum sententiis uariaretur et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex priuato redimi—4 si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praediis cauendum populo censerent—5 tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque uidebatur, seueritatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur:

6 'Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis qui in hostium potestate sunt ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum breui sententiam peregissem; 7 quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo seruaretis? nunc autem, cum prope gloriati sint quod se hostibus dediderint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus sed etiam iis qui Venusiam Canusiumque peruenerunt atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aequum censuerint, nihil uos eorum, patres conscripti, quae illic acta sunt ignorare patiar. 8 atque utinam haec, quae apud uos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignauiae cuiusque et uirtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in

19 animum *P*: 'supple habet' *A^p*: <habet> animum *ed. Rom.*: animum <habet> *Weiss*.

castris Romanis non captiui in hostium potestate essent. 9 sed cum fessis pugnando hostibus, tum uictoria laetis et ipsis plerique regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent et septem milia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam <per> confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium sequi uoluerunt. 10 nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem peruenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. 11 si ut auorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis uoluntariis, cum ad tumultum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit “moriatur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumuentas legiones”, 12 si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec uiros quidem nec Romanos uos duceret, si nemo tantae uirtutis exstitisset comes. 13 uiam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. ut seruemini, deest uobis animus: 14 quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? quinquaginta milia ciuium sociorumque circa uos eo ipso die caesa iacent. si tot exempla uirtutis non mouent, nihil unquam mouebit; si tanta clades uilem uitam non fecit, nulla faciet. 15 liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum ciues eius estis. sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure ciuium, serui Carthaginiensium facti. 16 pretio redituri estis eo unde ignauia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium ciuem uestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. 17 quam<quam quid> ego ignauiam istorum accuso, cum scelus possim accusare? non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis uiri fortissimi inertes summuissent. prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per ciuium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. 18 hos ciues patria desideret, quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis qui ad Cannas pugnauerunt ciuem haberet? 19 ex milibus septem armatorum sescenti exstiterunt qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his sescentis hostes obstitere; 20 quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? haberetis hodie uiginti milia armatorum Canusii fortia fidelia, patres conscripti. nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque—nam “fortes” ne ipsi quidem dixerint—ciues esse possunt? 21 nisi quis credere

12 quidem ... duceret *P*: <e>quidem ... ducerem *Koch*

potest †fuisse ut† erumpentibus qui ne erumperent obsistere conati sunt, aut non inuidere eos cum incolumitati tum gloriae illorum per uirtutem partae, cum sibi timorem ignauiamque seruitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant. 22 maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. <at> ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; 23 dies noctesque aliquot obsessi uallum armis, se ipsi tutati uallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia uitae deessent adfectisque fame uiribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis uicti sunt. 24 orto sole ab hostibus ad uallum accessum; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. 25 haec uobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, in castra refugerunt; cum pro uallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. 26 et uos redimam? cum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere et castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et uos ipsos traditis hosti. 27 ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo quam illos dedendos Hannibali qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam uirtutem se patriae restituerunt.’

61 Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captiui cognatione attingebant, praeter exemplum ciuitatis minime in captiuos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines mouit, 2 quia nec aerarium exhauriri, magna iam summa erogata in seruos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem, maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem, locupletari uolebant. 3 cum triste responsum non redimi captiuos redditum esset nouusque super ueterem luctus tot iactura ciuium adiectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibus legatos ad portam persecuti sunt. 4 unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra iure iurando se exsoluisset. quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

5 Est et alia de captiuis fama: decem primo uenisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse ne tamen iis senatus daretur; 6 morantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios tres insuper legatos uenisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium; 7 tum demum ab cognato Scriboni tribuno plebis de redimendis

21 †fuisse ut† *P*: <a>ut fauisse (fauisse *Novák*) *Madvig*: adfuisse *Luchs*: <sal>ut<i> fuisse (fuisse <sal>ut<i> *Walter*) *Landgraf*: <a>ut <ad>fuisse *Conway*

22 <at> ad *Wex*: ad *P*: <at enim> ad *Asc.*: <at si> ad *Luterbacher*

26 redimam *P*: redimam<us> *Luchs*

61.3 quaestibus *P*: questibusque *CA*

captiuis relatum esse nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et nouos legatos tres ad Hannibalem reuertisse, decem ueteres remansisse, 8 quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captiuorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsoluissent; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse uictosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos censuerint; 9 ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciuerint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde uita sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. 10 mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores quam quid ueri sit discernere queas.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit uel ea res indicio <est quod fides socio>rum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperauerant de imperio. 11 defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, 12 praeter hos Vzentini, et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. 13 nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum mouerunt ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret neque ante consulis Romam aduentum nec postquam is rediit renouauitque memoriam acceptae cladis; 14 quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo ciuitas fuit ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obuiam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae quod de re publica non desperasset: 15 qui si Carthaginensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

10 indicio <est ... socio>rum *Alschefski*: indiciorum *P*: indicio est ut *M*: indicio est quod *CA*: indicio <est quod qui soc>iorum ... steterant ... coeperunt *Asc*.

11 Atellani *P*: Campani *excidisse coni. Weiss*.

COMMENTARY

217 BC

Book 21 ended with purely Roman narrative chapters: a long series of prodigies (62) and an exaggerated account of the antagonisms between consul-elect Flaminius and the senate (63), culminating in the story (peculiar to L.) of the escape of a sacrificial calf which splattered many bystanders with blood (63.13–14). On this gloomy note, which obviously presages Trasimene, the book is almost ready to close (see Introduction p. 2: the division into books is certainly Livy's own); but not before a succinct description of Flaminius' advance into Etruria with two legions (L. appears to say 'four', but see *HCP* 410–11, and above, Introduction section 10(a), on the problems of 63.15). With the start of book 22, L.'s focus switches briefly to Hannibal, who has not been the centre of attention since the end of 21.59 (see 1.1n. on *ex hibernis*). The opening chapter begins by bringing him out of his winter quarters on his way to central Italy, and then heaps up yet more fearsome prodigies and their attempted expiation (1.8–20 and n.). The juxtaposition of the two sets of prodigies is no doubt designed to 'double their frightening impact' (Pausch 2019: 241, approved by Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 192). But there is an important difference: this time (contrast 21.62.11) there will be no closing assertion that the measures taken relieved the general unease. The mood of menace deepens.

1–3 PRELUDE TO TRASIMENE

1.1–4 Hannibal in Northern Italy

1.1 iam uer appetebat 'spring was now approaching'. That is, of 217 BC. (L. has nowhere said, as he does *mutatis mutandis* in some of the later books of the decade, 'the second year of the war now began, in the consulships of ...'. He begins to register numbers of war-years *at year-breaks* only at 23.30.18; see below n. after 33.12 and Introduction section 4(c); but see also the transitional formula at 23.1 about the Spanish campaigning 'in the second summer of the Punic War'.) For *appeto* in the sense it has here, see *OLD* 9b. The mention of spring is more than a chronological indicator; it is a narrative 'seed' (De Jong 2001: xvii–xviii), an advance hint which will help to explain both Hannibal's eye trouble (2.10–11), and the early morning mist from the lake which fatefully reduced visibility on the Roman side (4.6 with Lazenby 1978: 64). For the narrative technique (the combination of *iam* with the imperfect as a way of building up tension towards a new phase of action), see Van Gils and Koon

2019: 196 and n. 19. **cum:** P has *que*, which makes no sense. *cum* (thus later manuscripts) produces an inverse *cum* construction (one expects *cum uer appetebat, Hannibal ...*), of which L. is very fond (cf. Oakley 1997: 593–4 (6.34.4–5n.)). *atque* (Alschefski) and *itaque* (Wölfflin) retain *que*, but coordination is much less appropriate in this context (L. frequently talks of events being contemporaneous; cf. Oakley 1997: 126) and, as C–W observed, at 26.51.2 the Spirensian reading is *cum*, while P again has *que*. **ex hibernis:** as is clear from 1.2–4, Hannibal is in Cisalpine Gaul; when L. last mentioned him (apart from 21.60.5, a back ref.), he was in Liguria (21.59.10). Pol. (3.77.3) says that he was wintering in Gaul. **cum ... metu:** the word order, the participle splitting *periculo* and *metu*, is an instance of ‘conjunct hyperbaton’, as in the ‘good men and true’ idiom; cf. Briscoe 2008: 154 (38.43.8n.); 2018: 225.

1.2 praedae ... spes: i.e. they had joined Hannibal in the hope of plundering and ravaging areas under Roman control (particularly in the vicinity of Cremona and Placentia, *Barr. map* 39 FG3). **pro eo ut** ‘instead of’. A unique instance of *pro eo ut* in this sense. **raperent agerentque:** see 3.7n. on *ferri agique*. **utriusque ... hibernis:** the Roman army wintered at Placentia and Cremona (21.56.9, 59.1, 63.1). **uidere:** P has *uiderent* but a perfect indicative is required. Both *uiderunt* (a corrector of C and Valla in A) and *uidere* (Alschefski) explain the corruption, but *uidere*, the choice, archaic, form (cf. Oakley 1997: 146–7) has been preferred by modern editors.

1.3 retro: the Gauls of northern Italy had not shown any particular hatred of Hannibal before they defected to him; L. means merely that they reversed their position. **leuitate** ‘inconsistency’. **consenserant consensum:** the immediate repetition of the ‘conspiracy’ root emphasises their *leuitas*. This is a virtual polyptoton (the repetition of a part of speech, especially a verb, in a different inflection). **mutando nunc uestem nunc tegumenta capitis** ‘by changing now his clothes and now his head-coverings’. L. is the first prose author to write *nunc ... nunc* rather than *modo ... modo* (as at 12.7); cf. H–S 520. For Hannibal’s disguise, cf. Pol. 3.78.1–4, who says that he used a variety of wigs, and calls this a ‘Phoenician (i.e. Punic) stratagem’; see 48.1n. on *a Punica ... fraude*. L. appears to be talking about headgear; perhaps he did not understand Pol.’s Greek περιθεταὶ τρίχες, ‘false hair’ (LSJ⁹); or perhaps (as Jim Adams suggests to us) he wanted for some reason to avoid *capillamentum*, the expected word for ‘wig’. *tegumentum* derives from the verb *tego*, and is an alternative to *tegmen*. Both can be spelled *tegm-*, *tegit-* or *tegm-*. L. uses *tegumentum* on six occasions, *teg(u)-men* on five. There is no difference between the two formations, both of

which could be used to derive nouns from verbs, but *-mentum* was more productive. Cf. Perrot 1961 and Leumann 1977: 370–1.

This anecdote, for which see generally Krafft 2007, is a good example of Pol.'s (unThucydidean) attention to the physical appearance of individuals; see Hornblower 2016: 104 n. 41. Livy inherits or transmits this Hellenistic tendency. (For Cossus' beauty, see 4.19.1; for Scipio's physical appearance, see 28.35.5–6, and 29.19.11–12 for his adoption of Greek dress; also 30.1.5 on Sempronius Tuditanus and – inevitably – 30.12.17 on the beauty of Sophoniba.) Hannibal's use of wigs as a disguise may be borrowed from the stage, a nice touch of theatricality; cf. Krafft 2007: 71 n. 17 on theatrical disguises. (But the hair was an integral part of the mask, so no separate wig was called for. See Schwarzmaier 2010: 44 and plates 37 and 38 for the ὄγκος or enlarged mass of hair on Hellenistic theatrical masks. We thank Oliver Taplin for advice on this point.) See also Africa 1970: 531: Hannibal as shape-shifting shaman. **errore etiam:** i.e. Hannibal was saved both by the Gauls' betraying the plots and by the confusion created by his disguises. On *errore*, see Powe and Shipp, who translate 'by causing error', i.e. 'by deception', citing 27.28.4 *eius signi errore*, 'by causing deception through his signet'. Cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 2.48 (Laocoon on the Wooden Horse): *aut aliquis latet error*.

1.4 maturius: earlier than he would normally have done, probably early in April. There is no reason to think that intercalation was not proceeding normally in 217 and that the calendar was running well ahead of the seasons (cf. 1.9n.). See Introduction section 5, and 4.1–7.5n., for the date of Trasimene.

1.4–20 Events at Rome

1.4 (cont.) Cn. Seruilius: Geminus (61). For his election see 21.57.4. L. now switches to annalistic material; for the interweaving of the main story line with such material, see Van Gils and Koon 2019: 195–6. **Romae:** in contrast to Flaminius (see below). **idibus Martiis:** this is the earliest evidence for the Ides (fifteenth) of March being the beginning of the consular year, the date in force until 153, when it became the Kalends (first) of January. Earlier the dates varied: cf. Briscoe 1973: 68 (31.5.2n.).

1.5–7 L. now returns to Flaminius, whose decision to enter into office at Ariminum instead of Rome he had related in detail in the final chapter of book 21.

C. Flaminius (2) was tribune of the plebs in 232, when he carried, against the opposition of the senate, a law to distribute land in the *ager*

Gallicus and *ager Picens* (the modern region of the Marches); he was consul in 223 (cf. 3.4n.), when he defeated the Insubrian Gauls, and censor in 220. The ancient sources, including Pol., are extremely hostile to him, and a number of details in L. must be regarded with suspicion; the hostility doubtless derives from Fabius Pictor, who was himself reflecting the views of the majority of senators; cf. *HCP* 192–3. By stressing senators' claims that Flaminius lacked proper *imperium* and the auspices (for which see 1.5n.), and continuing with a lengthy list of prodigies and the expiations for them, L. is foreshadowing the disaster at Trasimene; see 1.8–20n.

1.5 de re publica rettulisset: when the senate met, on the Capitol, on the first day of the consular year, the consuls (on this occasion just Servilius) made a *relatio de re publica*, which allowed senators to raise any issue they chose. Cf. Bonnefond-Coudry 1989: 69–70. For *referre* immediately following *de re publica*, cf. 21.6.3, 38.42.8. **redintegrata** 'renewed'. The verb, which never occurs in verse, is first found in *Rhet. Her.* and Cicero; L. uses it on twenty-two occasions. **duos ... posse (1.7):** the *oratio obliqua* depends on a verb of saying understood from *redintegrata ... invidia est*. **duos se consules:** cf. 1.7n. **iustum imperium ... auspicium:** *iustum* conveys the sense of both 'legitimate' and 'proper'. The senators (if they really spoke thus) could not claim that the man who was about to confront Hannibal was not a consul, could not issue orders to the army and could not take the auspices (a form of validatory divination, lit. 'watching the birds', see *OCD*¹ 'auspicium'): what they are saying, rhetorically, is that Flaminius is not a real consul and does not really possess *imperium* and *auspicium*. The former was conferred on a magistrate by a *lex curiata*, proposed to the *comitia curiata* by the magistrate himself on his first day in office (cf. Mommsen 1887–8: I 609–10); the *auspicia*, conferring the right to take the auspices, were received on entering office (cf. Wissowa, *RE* II 2582). Since Flaminius had not entered office in Rome, he could neither pass the *lex curiata* nor receive the *auspicia*.

imperium and *auspicium* are frequently coupled; cf. Oakley 1998: 716–17 (8.31.1n.).

1.6 magistratus: acc. pl., emphatically placed at the beginning of the sentence, in antithesis to the following *priuatum*. **publicis priuatisque penatibus:** both the Roman state and individual households had their *penates*: 'Roman spirits connected with the inner part (*penus*, *penitus*, etc.) of the house': *OCD*¹. **Latinis ... perfecto:** the Latin festival, held on the Alban mount, took place early in the consular year, though not always immediately after the entry of the consuls into office; it had the potential to delay their departure for their provinces; cf. Briscoe 2008: 526–7 (40.45.2n.). **uotis ...**

nuncupatis: vows performed in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. L. mentions such vows on a number of occasions (cf. Packard 1968: IV 1287). *nuncupare* is the verb regularly used of the recital of a vow, prayer or other religious formula; cf. Oakley 1998: 505 (8.11.1n.).

1.7 externo ea solo: the unemphatic pronoun splits *externo solo* ('on foreign soil'), an instance of Wackernagel's Law by which unemphatic pronouns take second position in their clause; here it is an indication that *nec ... profectum* constitutes a separate unit of the sentence ('colon'); cf. Fraenkel 1964: 93–130. Cf. 1.5 *duos se consules*. **integra** 'fresh'. **concipere:** the verb is frequently used in religious contexts, especially in the phrase *uerbis conceptis* (cf. *TLL* IV 55.7–21), but *auspicia concipere* is unique: L. presumably means 'formally accept the *auspicia*'. See *OLD* *concupio* 12b.

1.8–20 *Prodigies*

See Introduction section 8(b). L. regularly includes reports of prodigies and their expiation in his narrative, and their position and length is frequently a means of foreshadowing major events (see particularly Levene 1993). On this occasion, the list of prodigies and the details of their expiation is extremely long; what is more, it follows very soon after (though not in the same year) the report at 21.62, and L. is clearly preparing the reader for the disaster at Lake Trasimene (see Levene 1993: 38–43). In most cases, L.'s reports of expiations occur, as here, at the beginning of the consular year; see Satterfield 2012, arguing that expiation did normally take place at this time, not immediately following each prodigy (thus Rawson 1991: 2); in this case, though, the prodigies were reported simultaneously (1.8 *ex pluribus simul locis*). For further bibliography on prodigies see Briscoe 1973: 88 (31.12.5–10n.); Satterfield 2012: 67 n. 1; Davies 2004: 27–61; Rosenberger 2007 (esp. 295, criticising the attempt of Krauss 1930 to find 'scientific' i.e. rationalising explanations for everything); Santangelo 2011; Bertholet 2013; Satterfield 2014–15. For an annotated tr. of the present passage, see Beard, North and Price 1998: II 172–3 (no. 7.3a), and cf. their discussion at I 80, suggesting that L.'s account has a 'political bias' in that it gives a purposive impression, treating the senate as more in control than it probably was.

The constant repetition of *et* is a feature, though not universally so, of the style of L.'s prodigy reports (cf., e.g., 21.62.1–5); see Luterbacher 1904: 57–60.

Valerius Maximus (1.6.5) takes from L., almost verbatim and together with prodigies reported at 21.62.1–5 and 35.21.4, the three items involving blood (1.8 and 10).

1.8 in Sicilia ... fulsisse: other prodigies involving spontaneous fire are reported at 24.10.7, 27.4.12, 43.13.6. **Sicilia ... Sardinia:** Sicily and Sardinia were the first of Rome's provinces; they were at peace and the Roman soldiers were a garrison. **spicula** 'spear points'. **scipionem** 'staff', the word from which the family of the great Africanus, a branch of the Corneli, took their *cognomen*. **tenuerat:** L., like Sallust, frequently retains the indicative in subordinate clauses in *oratio obliqua*; cf. K–St II 545. He uses the pluperfect, not the expected imperfect, to express the idea that the *equus* had been holding the staff but dropped it when it burst into flames. See app. **scuta ... sudasse:** for blood prodigies cf. Briscoe 1981: 121 (34.45.6n.) for refs. to works which list examples.

1.9 milites ... fulminibus: see Introduction section 8(b), citing Rosenberger 2007: 295, for such natural catastrophes as prodigies. Lightning prodigies are very common; cf. Briscoe 1973: 168 (32.1.10n.). **solis orbem minui:** for sun prodigies, relatively infrequent, cf. Krauss 1930: 67–71. **Praeneste:** mod. Palestrina (*Barr.* map 44 C1), c.40 km. ESE of Rome; cf. Briscoe 1973: 218 (32.26.15n.) as at end of 1.8n.; 2012a: 154 (42.1.7n.). Like Tibur, it was a Latin city not incorporated by Rome in 338, after the Latin War; cf. Oakley 1998: 540 (part of long n. on 8.14.1), and 567–8 (8.4.10n.). Other prodigies at Praeneste are recorded at 24.10.10, Obsequens 12, 23, 24, 36, 52. **ardentes lapides:** probably from volcanic eruption, not meteorites; cf. Krauss 1930: 55; Briscoe 2012a: 157 (42.2.4n.); 2018: 229. The normal expiation was a *nouemdiale sacrum* (cf. 23.31.15), which is not mentioned on this occasion (hence W–M thought that these stones were meteorites, without explaining the other occurrences of stones falling from the sky). **Arpis:** in Apulia, c.3 km. N of its medieval and mod. successor Foggia (*Barr.* map 45 C1); cf. Briscoe 1981: 59 (34.6.11n.). As Greek Argyrippa, it was said to have been founded by the Homeric Diomedes (*Lyc. Alex.* 592 with Hornblower 2015: 257–8). **parmas in caelo uisas:** Krauss 1930: 76 seeks to explain the phenomenon as meteorites or falling stars. The noun *parma* has a poetic tinge. **pugnantesque ... solem:** a solar eclipse, visible in Italy, on 17 February (Jul.), 217; the close synchronism with the Ides of March indicates that the calendar was around a month ahead of the seasons and that intercalation, consisting of twenty-seven days added following Roman 23 or 24 February, did not occur in 217; cf. 1.4 n., Intro. p. 25; Ginzler 1911: 216–17, 529; Krauss 1930: 70; Briscoe 1981: 18. For the suggestion that the moon was regarded as Carthage and the sun as Rome, see Rosenberger 1997: 97. **Capenae:** Capena (*Barr.* map 42 D4) lay a little S of Mt. Soracte; cf. Briscoe 1973: 299 (33.27.8n.). **duas ... ortas:** Krauss 1930: 72 thinks that they were 'comparatively faint mock suns', observing (n. 91) that Plin. *NH* 2.99 and Obs. 32 mention three moons appearing at night.

1.10 aquas Caeretes: on Caere, mod. Cerveteri (*Barr.* map 44 B2), cf. Oakley 1998: 199–202 (7.19.6n.); other prodigies at Caere are reported at 36.7, also 21.62.5, 27.23.3, 28.11.3, 41.21.13. The springs of Caere, mod. Bagni di Sasso, are mentioned by Strabo 5.2.3. **fontemque ipsum Herculis:** *ipsum* implies that the spring of Hercules was particularly well known. **cruentis ... maculis:** the word order, with *manasse respersum* splitting *cruentis* and *maculis*, emphasises *cruentis*; similarly *cruentitas ... spicas* below. **respersum:** P has *spersum*, which is not a possible form: choice lies between *respersum* (C), from *respergo*, and *sparsum* (Γ), from *spargo*; both participles are frequently used by L. and either could have easily been corrupted to *spersum*. **in Anti<at>i:** P has *in Antii*: Gronovius' addition of *-at-* posits a more likely corruption than Petrarch's deletion of *in*; as often with *in* + adj. of place name, there is an ellipse of *agro* (cf., e.g., 6.14.10). Antium, mod. Anzio (*Barr.* map 44 C3), is c.55km. SSE of Rome. A similar, but not identical, prodigy at Antium is reported, in similar language, at 28.11.2. **metentibus:** dative of disadvantage.

1.11 Plut. Fab. 2.2 conflates the two prodigies at Falerii. **Faleriis:** the original site of Falerii was mod. Civita Castellana (*Barr.* map 42 C4); in 241, however, it revolted and its population was moved to Falerii Novi, c.6 km. to the west; cf. Oakley 1997: 424–5 (6.4.4n.). **caelum ... effulsisse:** *aurora borealis*; see Krauss 1930: 78–9, citing similar prodigies at 3.5.14, 3.10.6, 28.11.3, 29.14.3, 31.12.5, 32.9.3, 32.29.2; see further below. **sortes** 'lots', used in divination; cf. Cic. *Diu.* 2.85–6, Bouche-Leclercq 1882: 145–59; Ehrenberg, *RE* XIII 1451–67; Miano 2018: 38–41. W–M observe that this is the only place in the passage where a prodigy is listed in asyndeton, and H. J. Müller himself suggested adding *et* (omission after *effulsisse* would have been easy). Sardinia (1.8–9), however, is the only other place from which more than one prodigy is reported (in 1.10 the spring of Hercules is part of the *aquae Caeretes*), and there is no reason why L. should not have varied his construction. **attenuatas** 'shrank'. So also at 21.62.5, Capua (*extenuatas*). These 'lots' are thought to have been small wooden tablets. **excidisse:** perhaps 'fell off' the place on which they were hanging, rather than 'fell out' of an urn, as at 21.42.2, 23.3.7. **scriptam:** Dimsdale said '*scriptam* = *inscriptam* is poetical', which is no doubt why H. J. Müller read *inscriptam* (printed in W–M): but the shorter form is attested in the *lex Vrsenensis* (*CIL* 1².594.2.3.17; 44 BC) and Festus 474L, citing the Augustan lawyer Antistius Labeo (Müller himself, in his apparatus, cited Curt. 10.1.14 and Quint. *inst.* 7.4.14)). **'Mauors ... concutit'** 'Mars brandishes his spear' (Foster). *Mauors* is the archaic form of *Mars*; cf. Pease 1958: 723.

1.12 signum ... sudasse: see Krauss 1930: 108–9 (fanciful); for other prodigies involving statues 176–9. The statue was in the temple of Mars, on which see Oakley 1998: 220 (7.23.3n.); Coarelli, *LTUR Suburbium* II 44–5. **luporum:** for wolves as sacred to Mars cf. 10.27.9; Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.9; Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 220; Oakley 2005b: 316 (10.27.9n.). They also played a prominent part in the Roman foundation legend: at 10.23.12, L. mentioned the statue of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; see Oakley 2005b: 264–6 (10.23.12n.). **Capuae:** the first mention in the third decade of Capua (*Barr. map* 44 F3), which will play a major role in books 23, 26 and 27. It was a *ciuitas sine suffragio* (i.e. its inhabitants were Roman citizens lacking the franchise). Cf. Oakley 1998: 554–8 (part of long n. on 8.14.1). **caeli ardentis:** see 1.11n. on *caelum effulsisse*. **lunaeque ... imbrem:** cf. Krauss 1930: 73 n. 98, suggesting that the phenomenon was caused by the moon being visible through flying clouds. (Drakenborch was so puzzled that he suggested reading *lanaeque*, for prodigies involving wool see 1.13, second note and Briscoe 2012a: 157 (42.2.4n.).)

1.13 minoribus ... dictu ‘not so important to tell of’. **capras ... factas:** Krauss 1930: 126 suggested that they had an ‘unusually heavy coat of hair’. **gallinam ... uertisse:** on this transgression of natural boundaries see Introduction section 8(b). Krauss 1930: 127 suggested amusingly that a farmer had forgotten the way he had caged them. But (see introductory n.) it is wrong to seek to rationalise all these strange occurrences out of existence.

1.14–20 Details of the Measures Taken to Expiate the Prodigies

1.14 auctoribus ‘witnesses’.

1.15 maioribus ... lactentibus ‘older ... sucking’. 37.3.6 is the only other place where L. mentions the latter (as the only victims); normally all victims were *maiores*. Cf. Briscoe 1981: 294 (37.3.6n.). **procurarentur** ‘should be expiated’; see *OLD* *procuro* 3; cf. Introduction section 8(b). **supplicatio ... puluinaria:** L. writes *ad omnia puluinaria* on nineteen occasions, thirteen of them of a *supplicatio*, of which nine are a result of prodigies (the others are 21.62.9, 27.4.15, 27.11.6, 32.1.14, 40.19.5, 41.9.7, 43.13.8, 45.16.6). A *supplicatio* was originally a ceremony of expiation following prodigies or a disaster; the *supplicatio* as a preliminary to war and as a thank-offering for victory are later developments; cf. Briscoe 1973: 76–7 (31.8.2n.), and 115 (31.22.1n.); also *OCD*¹ ‘supplication, Roman’, with bibliography, and Hahn 2007: 238, 247–8; for *puluinaria* (couches) see 1.18n.

1.16 decemuiri libros: the *decemuiri sacris faciundis* had charge of the Sibylline books (exactly what they contained is uncertain); see Introduction section 8(c). Originally two in number, the *decemuiri* were raised to ten in 368 (6.37.12, 42.1) and to fifteen in the first half of the first century, probably by Sulla; they regularly consulted the books following prodigies. Cf. Briscoe 1973: 76 (31.8.2n.), 90 (31.12.9n.), 164 (31.50.5n.); Oakley 1997: 715 (6.42.1n.). **diuis e carminibus praefarentur:** P has *diuinis carminibus*. There is thus no dative to go with *cordi esse*; it cannot be *diuinis carminibus* and that cannot go with *praefarentur* as a plain ablative (nor does L. elsewhere call the Sibylline books *diuina carmina*). The likelihood is that *diuinis* conceals *dis* or *diuis* and that *e* should be added before *carminibus*.

praefari is frequently used in religious contexts, though there is no parallel for its meaning ‘announce the details of a ceremony to be performed’ (cf. *TLL* X 2.649.63–650.21). Since, however, *praeire* occurs in precisely this sense at 43.13.8 and L. employs *praefari* on eleven other occasions, there is no good reason to doubt it (Gronovius emended to *profarentur*, a verb L. never uses).

1.17 decretum ... fieret: Jupiter, Juno and Minerva are the Capitoline triad, all being worshipped in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (cf. De Angeli, *LTUR* III 149). **Iunoni reginae in Auentino:** the temple was vowed by M. Furius Camillus before the capture of Veii (396 BC, *MRR* I 88) and housed the wooden statue of Juno which he brought to Rome following the ceremony of *euocatio*, the ritual drawing out of the enemy’s gods; see 5.21.2–3, 22.3–7, 23.7, for the temple’s dedication 5.31.3, 52.10. Cf. Andreussi, *LTUR* III 125–6. The goddess received a second temple, at the southern end of the Campus Martius, in 179 (40.52.1–2; cf. Briscoe 2008: 549–50). On the Aventine hill, in the SW of the city, cf. Andreussi, *LTUR* I 147–50; Briscoe 2008: 235 (part of long n. on 39.8–19). **Iunonique Sospitae Lanuui:** Lanuvium (mod. Lanuvio; *Barr.* map 43 C3) was c.25 km. SE of Rome; the temple there was famous. Cf. Briscoe 1973: 89 (31.12.6n.). Juno Sospita also had a temple in Rome, vowed in 197 and dedicated in 193 (32.30.10, 34.53.3); cf. Briscoe 1973: 227 (32.30.10n., with addendum at 345). On Juno see also Introduction n. 227.

1.18 See Macr. *Sat.* 1.6–14, citing the augur M. (*sic*; in fact C. (3), the consul of 140 and close friend of Scipio Aemilianus; cf. Münzer, *RE* XII 413) Laelius, adding to L. and differing from him in making the contributions, including those of the freedwomen, finance the *lectisternium* (for which see below), and not indicating that they came from the *matronae*. **quantum ... esset:** cf. 25.12.14, with the same language but

of the whole *populus*. There, as at 5.25.5 and 27.37.9 such contributions are called a *stips*. **lectisternium**: a ceremony, first performed in 399 (5.13.6), consisting of a banquet for a number of gods, whose images were placed on *puluinaria* (couches); cf. Ogilvie 1965: 655-7 (5.15.7n.); Briscoe 1973: 76-7 (31.8.2n.); Beard, North and Price 1998: II 130, no. 5.5b; Rüpke 2007a: 144. See further 10.9n. on *sex pulvinaria* for the Greek aspect. **et ipsae**: as well as the *matronae*, for *et ipse* 'also' cf. K-St I 629-30. **Feroniae**: a goddess of Sabine origin; her temple in Rome was probably one of those in the Largo Argentina; cf. Coarelli, *LTUR* II 247-8; her principal place of worship was the *lucus Feroniae* near Capena in southern Etruria. For her association with freed(wo)men cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8.564; Wissowa, *RE* VI 221. **pro facultatibus suis**: a variation of *quantum ... cuique commodum esset*.

1.19 facta: understand *sunt*. **Ardeae**: a Latin town, c.35 km. south of Rome and c.5 km. from the coast (*Barr.* map 44 C2). No prodigy at Ardea has been reported, but it possessed a temple of Juno Regina (Plin. *NH* 35.115). **Decembri iam mense** '—the month was now December—', i.e. a long time after the other measures of expiation, and well after Trasimene: a striking narrative prolepsis and displacement. To be sure, L. is listing the expiatory measures – taken from his annalistic source, Introduction p. 12 – in the order in which they were to be carried out, but Trasimene intervened before they could all be put into effect (Powe and Shipp, drawing on Warde Fowler 1911: 318). But he could have placed it somewhere in 10-11, together with the other religious measures taken after the battle. Not to do so must be deliberate choice: perhaps he thought that the extended Saturnalia material made for a satisfying climax to the unusually long religious section. See Introduction nn. 142 and 165. The sacrifice was performed on the *Saturnalia* (see 1.20), which were celebrated on 17 December (cf. Degrassi, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2.538-40). **aedem Saturni**: at the northern end of the forum, which is dominated by its remains; cf. Coarelli, *LTUR* IV 234-6; Briscoe 2012a: 140-1 (41.27.7n.). **et eum**: *et* here has the sense of *et quidem* (cf. *TLL* V 2.873.81-875.74); as W-M observe, the usage is frequent in parentheses (cf., e.g., 21.12.7). Misguidedly, Gronovius deleted *et eum*, Madvig *et*. **lectum ... strauerunt**: reflecting the etymology of *lectisternium*.

1.19-20 conuiuium publicum, ac per urbem ... clamata: cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1.10.18 *apud aedem Saturni conuiuium dissoluto Saturnalia clomitabantur*. If it was open to all citizens, *conuiuium* should perhaps be translated 'party', rather than 'feast', let alone 'banquet'. For *clamare* and *clomitare* with the accusative of the content or object of the shout, cf. 21.62.2; *TLL* III 1259.83-1250.11, 1252.76-1253.30.

At 2.21.2 L. says the *Saturnalia* were instituted in 498 and, like mid-winter festivals elsewhere, must always have been a *dies festus*. By the late Republic they lasted seven days (cf. Deglassi, as above) but *Saturnalibus primis* at 30.36.8 may be anachronistic, and one cannot conclude that in fact one or more extra days were added in 217 (thus W-M). What was new was the introduction of the *lectisternium* as part of the *Saturnalia* (1.18n.), and perhaps other elements of the *Graecus ritus* (see below), and the public *convivium*; cf. Ogilvie 1965: 290 (2.21.2n.); Beard, North and Price 1998: II 173. For the performance of the *Saturnalia* sacrifice according to the 'Greek rite' (i.e. with head uncovered), see Plut. *Roman questions* 11 (*Mor.* 266e), with Rose 1924: 174 and Scullard 1981: 206.

2-3 *Flaminius and Hannibal in Etruria*

2.1 dum ... dis ... dilectu dat: the alliteration is probably not deliberate. **habendoque dilectu:** normally L. gives details of the number of legions to be recruited each year (for 216 see 36.1-5n.; see Introduction pp. 82 and 84). W-M suggest that on this occasion he refrained from doing so following his account of the criticism of Flaminius and the prodigies and expiations. He also does not report the assignation of consular and praetorian provinces. He may have wished not to clutter up the narrative further at this point, but instead head straight for Trasimene, like Flaminius himself. Perhaps, though, he was aware that he would be reporting the dispositions made after Trasimene (11.1-3) and did not want to have two such passages. *dilectu* is a fourth declension dative in -u rather than -ui; cf. Oakley 1998: 60 (7.2.7n.); 11.5 and n. **ex hibernis:** cf. 1.1n. **Arretium:** mod. Arezzo (*Barr.* map 42 B2), c.70 km. SE of Florence.

2.2 Cf. Pol. 3.78.6. The precise route by which Hannibal crossed the Apennines is disputed (Seibert 1993a: 147-8 and n. 57). But he probably proceeded from Felsina (later Bononia; mod. Bologna; cf. Briscoe 1973: 320 (33.37.3n.); 33.4n.) to Pistoria (mod. Pistoia), i.e. the oldest railway route, and the marshes are those between Pistoria and Faesulae (mod. Fiesole); see *HCP* 413; *Barr.* map 40 A4, 41 D1-2, 42 A1. **Arnus:** mod. Arno, the main river of Tuscany, rises as a mountain torrent in the Apennines near Arezzo, flows through Florence and reaches the sea near Pisa.

2.3 Cf. Pol. 3.79.1-3. L. omits what Pol. says about Hannibal's calculations in making his dispositions. **id ... erat:** P has *et ... erat*, but 'and it was the whole strength of his army' is intolerably clumsy. Pol. talks of 'the whole of the most useful part of his army' being additional to the Libyans

and Spaniards, and that is produced by the deletion of *erat* (C and a corrector of M, though they knew nothing of Pol.). It is much more likely that Gronovius was right to alter *et* to *id* (*et* being the result of perseveration from *et Afros*). The word order serves to emphasise *ueterani*.

2.4 Cf. Pol. 3.79.4. L.'s formulation obscures the fact that the Numidians constitute the cavalry and that Mago was in command of the entire rear-guard. Perhaps L. did not understand οὐραγίας. **Magonem:** Hannibal's youngest brother, who played a major part in the Second Punic War, serving in Italy from 218 to 216 and in Spain from 215 until 205. He crossed to Italy and was defeated by the Romans in the Po valley in 203, suffering wounds from which he probably died during his return voyage to Carthage (see Hoyos 2006: 705 for 'more fanciful accounts' which kept him alive until 193). **cogere agmen:** 'bring up the rear of the column'. **Gallos ... subsisterent:** Gallic lack of staying power is a constant theme in L.; cf. Briscoe 2008: 53 (38.10.4–6n.), and 78 (38.17.7n.) for L.'s interest in innate characteristics of different peoples; cf. 2012a: 95 (41.18.3n.).

2.5 Cf. Pol. 3.79.5. Pol. emphasises the endurance of the African and Spanish troops, while L. adapts to present a vivid picture of the problems they surmounted. **qua modo praeirent duces** 'where the guides led them (provided that they did so)'; for this limiting use of *modo* cf., e.g., 10.24.11; K–St II 446–8. The soldiers were not going to follow the standard-bearers in the absence of guides. Local guides' knowledge of the terrain was always important for Hannibal; cf. 13.5–9nn. **praealtas ... uoragines:** L. appears to mean that the water was both at a very high level and went down a very long way (but 'almost/well-nigh bottomless' – thus Dimsdale/Foster – cannot be got out of the Latin). L. uses *praealtus* on eleven other occasions; before him it occurs, once each, only in Sallust and *bell. Afr.* As is clear from *limo* below, *uoragines* here means 'quagmires'.

2.6–9 Pol. 3.79.6–11 has been considerably adapted and shortened by L.

2.7 et ipsa: cf. 1.18n. **quadriduum ... noctes:** Pol. 3.79.8, 'for four days and three nights continuously', ἐξῆς ἡμέρας τέτταρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας. But the distance from Pistoia to Fiesole is only 35 km. and a continuous journey of eighty-four hours is physically impossible. See *HCP* 413, suggesting that the figure refers either to the time that had elapsed since the departure of the first part of the army or to a longer part of the entire journey from the winter quarters. Perhaps Pol. misunderstood Silenus.

2.8-9 incumbabant, <aut>: *cumulatis ... incumbabant* and *iumentorum ... dabant* describe alternative ways by which the Gauls found somewhere to sleep and a disjunction is clearly needed; Duker proposed adding *uel*, but *aut* explains the omission, a scribe's eye moving from *-ant* to *-aut*. In Pol. (3.79.9-10) the Gauls put their baggage on top of the dead animals.

2.9 exstaret aqua: the phrase recurs in 2.10, but there with *ab aqua* and referring to the distance between Hannibal, sitting on the elephant, and the marsh.

2.10-11 Cf. Pol. 3.79.12. Nothing in Pol. corresponds to L.'s comment on the variable spring temperatures, perhaps based on his own experience in the Veneto.

2.10 uerna ... intemperie 'the extremes of the spring weather'. L. uses *intemperies* ('lack of moderation') also at 3.31.1, 5.13.4 and 8.18.1. *primum* is picked up by *tamen* (2.11). **elephanto, qui unus superfuerat:** cf. Pol. 3.74.11 for this sad sole survivor. At 21.56.6, L. had said that 'almost all' the elephants perished, but then (21.58.11) he reports the death of no fewer than seven who had survived the battle at the Trebia. According to Cato (*FRHist* 5F115, from Pliny), the bravest elephant in the Punic Wars was called Surus ('Syrian' i.e. an Indian as opposed to a Forest African elephant); this may be the very beast L. here refers to anonymously. Syrus seems to have been a 'One-Tusker', in which case the one-eyed enemy of Rome was mounted on a one-tusked elephant. See Scullard 1974: 174-5. Forty replacement elephants were brought to Hannibal by Bomilcar in 215 (23.41.10, cf. 23.13.7); and see Hoyos 2006: 666 on 26.5.3. At Zama (202 BC) Hannibal had eighty war-elephants (30.33.4), but by then he was back in elephant country.

2.11 palustrique caelo 'the climate of the marshes'; for *caelum* in this sense cf. *OLD* 7. In summer marshy areas (e.g. the Pomptine marshes south of Rome, the Maremma in southern Tuscany (cf. Cato *FRHist* 5F71 and comm.)), were malarial and remained so until they were drained in the twentieth century. **grauante** 'weighing on'. **altero oculo capitur:** *oculis/luminibus captus* is a common way of referring to blindness, but this is a unique instance with a finite form of the verb; cf. Oakley 2005a: 384 (9.29.11n.); *TLL* III 340.58-72; for the similar use of *captus* with other parts of the body, cf. *OLD* *capere* 22. Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.13.2) says that Iulius Civilis, the one-eyed leader of the Batavian revolt in AD 69, compared himself to Hannibal and Sertorius; on the theme of one-eyed enemies of Rome see Africa 1970 (530-2 for Hannibal).

3.1–5 Cf. Pol. 3.80. In the following chapter Pol. expatiates on the need for a general to be aware of his opponent's strategy and character, exemplified by Hannibal on this occasion; there is nothing of this in L., who regularly omits such didacticism in Pol. See Introduction section 7(b).

3.1 de paludibus emersisset: *emergere* is usually constructed with *e(x)*, but *de* occurs at Vitr. 1.6.11; for other verbs so constructed cf. K–St I 497–8. **castra locat, ... moenia esse:** Hannibal camped near Faesulae (cf. 3.6n.). Pol. says only that Hannibal discovered that Flaminius was near Arretium; that he did so through scouts is probably a reasonable inference by L. (or Coelius), though it may have derived from Silenus. *exploratores*, often mentioned by L., were a vital element in ancient warfare and failure to use them could have disastrous consequences; cf. Oakley 1998: 708–9 (8.30.3n.).

3.2 consulis ... consilia: the two words *consul* and *consiliis* are probably connected etymologically. If this is deliberate wordplay, it may hint at the consul's lack of good counsel; compare 3.5 *nec ... consulentem*.

It is not easy to see how Hannibal could have found out – rather than merely guessing at – Flaminius' plans, as opposed to picking up information about his character and about the terrain. But see 28.1n.

3.3 Pol. (3.80.3) says only that the land before them was rich in resources; L.'s language suggests autopsy: he would have passed through the area when travelling between his native Padua and Rome. **in primis Italiae** 'among the first in Italy'; normally, *in primis* stands alone, meaning 'particularly, especially'; cf., e.g., Tac. *ann.* 4.34.3 (of L.). Etruria as a whole was famed for its natural resources; cf. 28.45.14–18; Diod. 5.40.3; Hülse, *RE* VI 722. **Faesulas inter Arretiumque:** for *inter* placed between the two accusatives it governs, cf. *TLL* VII 1.2147.28–47; this is the only example in L. but it is common in Tacitus.

3.4 Considerable elaboration of Pol. 3.80.3 τὸν δὲ Φλαμίνιον ὀχλοκόπον καὶ δημαγωγὸν εἶναι τέλειον 'that Flaminius was a total mob rouser and demagogue'. **consul ferox ab consulatu priore:** as consul in 223. Pol. (2.32–3) describes Flaminius' victory, with his colleague P. Furius Philus, over the Insubres, criticising Flaminius' tactics and giving the credit for the outcome to a tactical innovation by the military tribunes (33), while at 32.3 he reports a defeat and a truce, allowing the Romans to attack the Cenomani. All this is part of Pol.'s hostile attitude towards Flaminius (see 1.5–7n.), but later sources (L. at 21.63.2, 7, Plut. *Marc.* 4, 6.1, Oros. 4.13.14, Zon. 8.20.4–7) go further, variously saying that

then too he had not received the auspices and ignored hostile omens, as a result of which the senate forced both him and Furius to abdicate (L. refers to disputes with the senate about his triumph, Plutarch says that the people nearly refused him a triumph, Zonaras that it was refused by the senate but voted but the people. The *Fasti Capitolini* make no reference to abdication). L. is fond of *ferox*; sometimes it has a positive connotation, but often (as here, 3.5, and 15.5 *ferociter*, 3.9 and 14.15 *ferocia*), it is derogatory, as also at 21.53.8 (Hannibal knows that Flaminius is *ferox*); cf. Oakley 1997: 586 (6.23.3n.). **insitam**: L. regularly uses *insitus* of innate characteristics of both peoples (cf. 2.4n.) and individuals; cf. Packard 1968: II 1239. **temeritatem**: the rashness of the popular leaders, Flaminius, Minucius and Varro, in contrast to the caution and *prudentia* of Fabius (for which see 12.6n.), is a constant theme of book 22; cf. 9.7, 23.3, 25.12, 27.8, 28.2, 29.1, 38.12, 40.2, 41.1, 44.5, 7; Oakley 1997: 582-3 (6.22.6n.). **fortuna**: the implication is that all Flaminius' successes were a matter of luck. **ciuilibus bellicisque rebus**: *ciuilibus* refers to Flaminius' electoral victories as well as what he achieved as tribune and censor (notably the building of the *uia Flaminia* and the *circus Flaminius*).

3.5 nec deos nec homines: the coupling, unsurprisingly, is common in L. (cf. Packard 1968: II 1201-2, 1219, 1222), but 1.4.7 is the only other instance of the negative. **consulentem** '[not] seeking advice from'; i.e. ignoring both the decisions of the senate and the portents sent by the gods. See 1n. **ferociter**: taking up *ferox* in 3.4. **praepropere** 'with unseemly haste' (*OLD*). L. uses *praepropere*, both adjective and adverb, on seven occasions, three of them in book 22 (also at 19.10, of Carthaginian sailors, and 41.1, of Varro). **pronior** 'more inclined to'; cf. 39.8.6, of the sexual preferences of the (male) participants in the Bacchanalia.

3.6 et laeua ... profectus: P's text says that Hannibal was making for Faesulae with the intention of plundering in the middle of Etruria, i.e. the area described at 3.3. That is geographical nonsense and the opposite of what Pol. says at 3.82.1 ὡς γὰρ θᾶπτον ποιησάμενος ἀναζυγὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φαισόλαν τόπων, 'for as soon as he left the neighbourhood of Faesulae'. It has given rise to a large number of conjectures (for full details see Briscoe 2018: 52), mostly involving changing *Faesulas* to (a) *Faesulis*. It is preferable to regard the mistake as due to L. himself, or, conceivably, Coelius Antipater. See *HCP* 414; when Walbank says '(sc. *Faesulas petens*) may be a distorted reference to the original of P[ol]. 's ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φαισόλαν τόπων' and 'but the error probably goes behind Livy's text', he presumably means that L. has garbled Pol.'s source, probably Fabius Pictor (cf.

1.5–7n.). **laeua relicto hoste:** cf. Pol. 3.82.1; Flaminius marched south of Arretium, to the west of the Roman camp.

3.6–9 medio ... cum <...>: considerably adapted from Pol. 3.82.1–5.

3.7–9 An extremely long period and perhaps significantly longer than what appears in Pol. (cf. 3.9n.). The subject, *Flaminius*, is followed by a relative clause (*qui ... quieturus erat*) and a temporal clause (*postquam ... uidit*), containing an accusative + infinitive, itself containing an ablative absolute (*res ... agique*), then a participial clause (*suum ... ratus*), with another accusative + infinitive (*per mediam ... oppugnanda*), then an ablative absolute (*ceteris ... suadentibus*), on which depend two gerundive constructions, *collegam expectandum*, itself followed by a final clause (*ut coniunctis ... rem gererent*) and *interim ... cohibendum*: finally come (at least) two main clauses, *iratus ... proripuit* and *signumque* to whatever followed *cum*. The period builds up to the *oratio recta* in 3.10; cf. Oakley 1997: 135.

3.7 ferri agique: L. frequently couples *ferre* and *agere*, often, as here, of plundering; the original idea was to ‘carry off’ (movables), and ‘drive off’ (cattle), as in Greek φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν; cf. Oakley 2005b: 360 (10.34.4n.); Briscoe 2008: 69 (38.15.10n.). See also 1.3 *raperent agerentque*. **obsistente nullo ad ipsa ... oppugnanda:** if nobody stops him, he will attack Rome itself; Hannibal is still a long way north of Rome.

3.8 salutaria ... speciosa: other comparisons including *speciosus* occur at 1.23.7 and 4.8.6. **suadentibus: collegam: dicentibus** is to be understood from *suadentibus*. It is this, not the end of the period, which is indicated by punctuation with a colon, together with a dash after *cohibendum* (thus first C–W).

collegam ... coniunctis ... communi ... consilioque: the anaphora of *con-* (*l-*, *m-*) is deliberate, emphasising the need for common, not unilateral, action (cf. ‘Stronger Together’, the slogan of Hillary Clinton’s 2016 Presidential election campaign).

3.9 interim ... cohibendum: nothing in Pol. corresponds to this: L. can scarcely have misunderstood φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἰππέων, ‘be on his guard and take note of their superior numbers of cavalry’ (Pol. 3.82.4). **signumque ... cum <...>:** *signumque ... cum* is incomplete. A late manuscript added *dedisset* after *cum*, others replaced *cum* with *quin*. The Venice edition of 1470 inserted *proposuit* before *quin*, which long remained the accepted reading (for other conjectures see the app. to Briscoe’s OCT, also Briscoe 2018: 53). The safe course is to indicate a lacuna but not to attempt to fill it.

3.10 Cf. Pol. 3.82.6. L.'s ironic formulation, with *patria et penates* and the reference to Camillus, is both more vivid and more relevant for his Roman readers. **patria et penates:** a common alliterative coupling, occurring also at 25.18.10; at 30.33.11 L. writes *moenia patriae di penates*; cf. Wöllflin 1933: 270. **emissus e manibus:** L. uses *emittere e manibus* also at 41.3, 28.42.14, 32.9.10, 36.6.10 and 44.40.4; before him it is found only at Lucr. 4.504. **mouerimus ... acciuerint:** the former is perfect subjunctive, the latter future perfect indicative (cf. 5.53.3); for the jussive perfect subjunctive, always used negatively, cf. K-St I 189; this appears to be a unique instance of the first person. **Camillum ab Veii:** Camillus was allegedly prosecuted and forced into exile in 391 BC, but recalled the next year in time to be appointed dictator and defeat the besieging Gauls (*MRR* I 93-5). At 9.4.14 L. also says that Camillus was summoned from Veii, but at 5.46.4-11 that the Romans who had fled to Veii summoned Camillus from exile at Ardea. The *exemplum* (Chaplin 2000) is unexpected, an indicator of Flaminius' arrogance; perhaps suggested to L.'s mind by the recent mention of the Gauls at 2.4-5.

3.11-14 None of this stands in Pol.; the episode was related by Coelius (*FRHist* 15F14), who was probably L.'s source (though see next n.). L. will have been glad to have material which enabled him to give a religious dimension to his narrative immediately before his account of the battle of Trasimene. It is a visually powerful story.

3.11 ocius: see Oakley 1998: 245-6 (7.26.6n.), showing that *ocior/-ius*, choice words for 'quick(ly)', belonged to the spoken language and were generally avoided in high register prose, with the exception of L., who uses them on seven occasions, and the elder Pliny. *ocius* occurs in Coelius *FRHist* 15F64, but the fragment may in fact come from Gellius; see comm.

3.12 foedo omine: for the bad omen of Flaminius falling from his horse, see Rosenberger 1997: 215.

3.13 litteras ... uetant: the reference is to the letter sent by Flaminius in 223, ordering him not to engage in battle with the Gauls (Plut. *Marc.* 4.4), not to the one mentioned at 21.63.7 (thus W-M). There is no reason to alter *uetant* ('ordering him') to *uetent* (a corrector of C), producing a relative final clause. **abi, nuntia** 'go, tell them ...': two imperatives in succession usually, but not always, stand in asyndeton; see K-St II 29. The exact expression recurs at 49.10 (Paullus to Lentulus; see n. there for the possible significance of the repetition). L. writes *abi, nuntia* also at 1.16.7 and 37.36.8, *abi, renuntia* at 44.26.11. For the following remarks and references we are indebted to Jim Adams. The 'go, do something, go

tell’ construction goes back to Plautus and continues in some Romance dialects. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4.77.3 *ite nuntiate Vespasiano*. Both here and at 49.10 (see above) a subjunctive follows (e.g. Pinkster 2015: 514 with bibl.). This one looks like an old and sometimes slangy idiom or structure, used when addressing slaves or subordinates: cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 777 *abi prae, nuntia*, and with different second imperatives, e.g. Eun. 499 *abi prae, curre*, Haut. 804 *abi, ecfer argentum*, Plaut. *Aul.* 89 *abi intro, occlude ianuam*, Curc. 255 *abi, deprome. nuntia* is sometimes also attached by a coordinator, e.g. Ter. *Haut.* 618 *abi nunciam intro atque ... nuntia*, Ter. *Hec.* 314 *abi, Parmeno, intro ac ... nuntia*. There is at least one such in Plautus, *Bacch.* 592 *abi et renuntia* (in Plaut. the following imperative is sometimes another verb of saying: e.g. *Amph.* 353 *abi ... dicito*). For the *abi* + imperative with asyndeton or coordinator construction, see Sjögren 1900: 90–4, and the length of his account shows that the pattern was very much an idiom. The imperative of *ire* is used in the same ways (as in the Tacitus passage above). **manus ... obtorpuerint**: ‘should their hands be numb’. CA; P has *obtorpuerit*, retained by, e.g., C–W and Jal, but L. would scarcely have talked of just one hand. Madvig’s *obtorpuerunt* is unnecessary.

3.14 primoribus ‘the leading officers’, i.e. the *legati* and military tribunes. On the meaning, tone and distribution of *primores* see Oakley 1997: 514–15 (6.13.8n.); add now *TLL* X 2.1265.59–1268.68. Apart from L. and Tacitus it is rare in prose; L. uses it on no fewer than eighty occasions, overwhelmingly in the first pentad and never in the fourth decade. **superquam quod** ‘in addition to the fact that’ (*OLD*) is an alternative to *praeterquam quod* (sixty-five instances) and is unique to L., who uses it also at 27.20.10. **dissenserant ab consilio** ‘they had disagreed with Flaminius’ strategy’. In 3.8–9 *consilio* is the consul’s advisory body, but that is no reason to introduce a reference to it here (*in consilio* M. Müller). **in uolgus** ‘openly’ (cf. *OLD*) not ‘most of them’ (Foster; similarly W–M ‘durchgängig’). L. has nothing corresponding to Pol.’s statement that large numbers of non-combatants accompanied the Roman army, carrying chains and fetters (there is no connection between *in uolgus* and Pol.’s τοῖς ὄχλοις). **ferocia ducis**: cf. 3.4n. Ring composition: *consul ferox* introduces the passage about Flaminius.

4.1–7.5 THE BATTLE OF TRASIMENE

The gods want Rome to fail – for a while (see 4.2n.). The suggestion of purposeful i.e. divinely-scripted inevitability has already been expressed unmistakably by the unusual length of the portents catalogue in ch. 1,

and by the two *foeda omina* at the end of ch. 3. Now it is – albeit less obtrusively – continued by the descriptions of the battle site as *loca nata insidiis*, and of the very narrow path between mountains and lake as *uelut ad <id> ipsum de industria relicto spatio* (both 4.2; see nn. there). The allegedly massive earthquake at 5.8 is hardly a portent in the strict sense, because simultaneous with the battle, nor is it mentioned as evidence of divine displeasure, but merely to emphasise the ardour and intensity of the fighting between troops who did not notice it. But this implication of certain doom, though effective as literature, shuts down the question never properly posed by L., whether Flaminius had a strategy at all, and what it was. He perhaps (Lazenby 1978: 65) hoped to entrap Hannibal between the two consular armies of himself and Servilius, now at Ariminum (*Barr.* map 40 D4, mod. Rimini); this motive would help to explain the rash speed with which he set out at 4.4, in what he believed to be pursuit of an enemy who was actually waiting to pounce. By contrast, L. purports to be confident about Hannibal's thinking, although most of this is no doubt merely inferred motivation. According to Pol. (3.82.1–8), Flaminius expected Hannibal to attack Rome (§6) and was therefore determined to fight without waiting for Servilius as his officers urged; this was rejected by De Sanctis (1968: 37–8 and esp. 106), partly on the grounds that even Flaminius cannot have been so foolishly rash as to contemplate a battle without united forces, but see *HCP* 414 for a cautious defence of Pol.

The probable date of the battle was either 20 or 21 June. See Intro. section 4 (with n. 75 on Derow 2015). The pre-Julian date available to Ovid (*Fast.* 6.763–8, the only precise evidence) was *a.d. xi kal. Quinct.* or *a.d. x kal. Quinct.*, altered by him to *a.d. xi* to accord with the length of June in the Julian calendar. (Old Roman calendar, Julian equivalent early May; see De Sanctis 1968: 116; *HCP* 412–13; Briscoe *CAH* VIII 49; Lazenby 1978: 60.) Ovid warned Augustus against fighting on the tenth day before the end of the month of June, counting inclusively as usual (Michels 1967: 22): *quintus ab extremo mense bis ille dies*, 768. He calls Flaminius and the shores of Trasimene to witness, *sint tibi Flaminius Trasimenaque litora testes*, 765. The inferior reading (*bis*) *quartus* (eighth not tenth) has been defended, but see De Sanctis 1968: 115. But though Trasimene was remembered, it was not, like the disaster of the Allia (defeat by the Gauls, 390 BC), an actual *dies religiosus* or 'ill-omened day' in the Roman calendar (Scullard 1981: 44). The only other temporal indicator (e.g. Cornelius 1932: 6; Seibert 1993b: 220) is Pol. 5.101.3–7, Philip V hears the news of Trasimene at the Nemean festival, held at Argos in July; this confirms Ovid in a general way.

The morning mist or fog, *nebula* then *caligo* (4.6 then 5.3, 6.9), had the effect of reducing visibility and communication, both between the Roman

troops and their commander, and with each other (see esp. the very strong *uelut caeci* at 6.7). This ranges Trasimene with some of the great night-battles of Greek literature and history, beginning with the night-adventure in the Homeric *Doloneia* (*Il.* 10, an ambush like Trasimene), and especially the fatal confusion of the Athenian Demosthenes' night attack on Epipolai in Th. (7.42–4); on night-fighting in Homer and elsewhere, see Dowden 2010. See further 5.3nn. for details. For fog in other battles in L. cf. 10.32.6–7 (294 BC) with Oakley 2005b: 352–3; 33.6.12–7.2 (Cynoscephalae, with McDonald 2009: 235 and Briscoe 1973: 258 on L.'s intensification of Pol. 18.20.7–9); 37.41.2 (Magnesia, *caligo*); 41.2.4 (Histria, *nebula*); and fog is crucial to Hasdrubal's stratagem at 26.17.12. For fighting and dying in the dark as specially horrible, cf. Ajax's prayer to Zeus to clear the mist or fog (ὁμίχλη, as at Pol. 3.84.1 and 13) and allow him to see: 'kill me in the light, ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλεσσον, since that is your pleasure' (Hom. *Il.* 17.646–7). Cf., more prosaically, 18.1 (Fabius' aversion to night-fighting).

Topography is a problem, because neither Pol. (3.83–85.6) nor L. is very clear or detailed, and their respective indications, such as they are, cannot be reconciled entirely, although Pol. is the clearer of the two and was surely L.'s main source. It is agreed among modern scholars that the battle took place by the north shore of the lake, but opinion is divided as to whether it was in the NE between Magione inland and Torricella on the shore (the view here followed, see below), or in the NW, in the vicinity of Tuoro and Mt Gualandro. For Pol., the main part of the actual battle took place in a steep-sided flat-bottomed hollow, αὐλῶν ἐπίπεδος (on the meaning of the difficult noun see Syme 1995: 340–3) at apparent right angles to the lake. Pol. mentions this αὐλῶν six times between 83.1 and 84.1. But L., whose account is vaguer, does not quite say this. He seems rather to describe fighting in the narrow track and defile – *uia ... perangusta*, 4.2, *fauces*, 4.3 – between the mountains and the lake, and only there, though see below. Perhaps he was unsure of the precise meaning of αὐλῶν, so he simplified what he found in Pol. If Pol. is given priority, as he probably should be, the best candidate for the αὐλῶν is certainly the passage at the NE of the lake, between Magione and Torricella. But all the fighting is not likely to have taken place in this restricted space, so the fighting probably extended some way along the lakeside towards Passignano (*HCP* 418 and Lazenby 1978: 63).

The alternative site, favoured by e.g. De Sanctis 1968: 110 and apparently by Hoyos 2006: 240, is near Tuoro, a village at the NW part of the lake, and Mt Gualandro. It is possible that this area was L.'s – erroneous – location for the battle; so Lazenby 1978: 62. But it does not fit Pol.'s position for some of Hannibal's forces: as Lazenby puts it, 'the Baliares and

spearmen would have had to be in the lake to fit [Pol.'s] description' (63). And it is not easy to imagine anyone calling this area an αὐλὼν, whereas that word fits the Torricella–Magione passage well.

See *HCP* 415–18; Lazenby 1978: 62–3 and his plate V and map 6 (our map 2). (At *HCP* 417, Walbank criticises the views of De Sanctis 1968: 107.)

For troop numbers and losses on each side, see Intro. section 10. Hannibal's forces certainly outnumbered Flaminius'.

Bibliography. Literary treatments: Bruckmann 1936: 65–70; Burck 1962: 80–3; Levene 2010: 267–70. Historical: De Sanctis 1968: 4–63 and 101–17; *HCP* 410–30; Lazenby 1978: 75–86 with map 6 (and briefly in *OCD*¹ 'Trasimene, Lake, battle of'); Briscoe, *CAH* VIII 49–50; Seibert 1993a: 152–6 and 1993b: 219–22.

4.1 Hannibal ... quo magis: the first three sections purport to give Hannibal's thinking (see also *ut* at 4.3 and *id quod petierat* at 4.5), whereas after the switch to Flaminius at 4.4, L. merely describes the consul's (rash) actions factually. See introductory n. for the imbalance. **quod agri est inter ...** (lit.) 'as much of the territory as there is between ...'. See *OLD* *qui* 16a; cf. 21.52.3, and see 19.4n. **Cortonam urbem:** for Cortona (also the modern name) see *Barr.* map 42 B2 and *OCD*¹. Perhaps there is a hint at ill omen: on one tradition Odysseus died and was cremated there (Theopompus *FGrHist* 115F354 and *Lyc. Alex.* 805–6, both calling it Gortynaia). **Trasumennumque lacum:** in ancient Etruria, although in mod. Umbria: Pol. 3.82.9 and 5.101.3 (2.16.3, on which see *HCP*, shows that he knew the difference between the two), and Strabo, as below. The divide was the Tiber, at least to a point well N. of Trasimene: Plin. *NH* 5.53 with Thomsen 1947: 120–1. For the Etruscan name Trasumennus, see Schulze 1904: 572, and for the variety of spellings in P (MS of L.) Briscoe's OCT: pp. 378–9. On the numerous, navigable, reedy and fish-filled lakes of Etruria, see Strabo 5.2.9, specifying Trasimene near Arretium (2.1n.) as 'the furthest from Rome, next to which is the pass leading from Cisalpine Gaul to Etruria, as used by Hannibal'. Strabo continues that the route via Umbria from Ariminum is better because the mountains are lower, but that Hannibal was forced to choose the more difficult Trasimene route because it was less well guarded: nothing about its suitability for an ambush. This, the decisive factor, was more likely to have been due to improvisation by Hannibal at short notice, than to good advance military intelligence. **peruastat:** present and past tenses are both found in the battle narrative which follows. On the (limited) extent of Hannibal's devastation in Etruria, both before and after Trasimene, see Harris 1971: 96 n. 3 (Cortona) and esp. 132–4 (noting that the Etruscans

and Umbrians are not mentioned in L.'s list at 61.11–12 of those who rebelled after Cannae).

4.2 loca nata insidiis ... uelut ad <id> ipsum de industria: see introductory n.: the agents here implied can only be the gods, but the hint of the *ira deum* (Fabius at 9.7, what Tacitus would call *deum ira in rem Romanam*) is lightly conveyed. (For the gods and Rome, see Oakley 2005a: 13–16 (part of long n. on 9.1.1–16.19), citing Bruckmann 1936: 36–49: for L., as an explanation for defeats, divine anger, difficult terrain or incompetent generalship were preferable to an admission of Roman military inferiority.) With *loca nata insidiis* cf. 28.6 (Minucius outgeneralled by Hannibal), and 44.4 (the prelude to Cannae); with *uelut ... de industria* cf. 27.3.3, 'almost deliberately' inflammable Roman huts at Capua, where however the atmosphere of supernatural menace is generally far less marked. L. is fond of *de industria*, and uses it twenty-nine times. **ubi maxime ... † ... subit†:** the textual problem (cf. Briscoe 2018: 53) is insoluble, but the intended meaning ('where the mountains come closest to the lake') is not in doubt. But it cannot be extracted from P's *subit*, which ought to mean 'go up to' not 'go down to'. The emendation *sidunt* supposedly means 'descend', but there is no good parallel.

4.3 Baliares: the Balearic Islands (Mallorca and Minorca, see map 3 and *OCD*¹ 'Balears et Pithyusae insulae') provided Carthage with expert slingers, *funditores* (21.21.12 and 38.29.5–6, cf. Pol. 3.33.11), and javelin-throwers. See 21.55 for Hannibal's Balearic troops at the battle of the Trebia river. But Hannibal's brother Mago was not welcome at Mallorca in 206 (28.37: repulsed by stone-throwing locals, he was forced to winter on Minorca instead). The origin of the name Balears was variously explained in antiquity (Hornblower 2015: 268–70), but Pol. (3.33.11 with *HCP*) implies it was actually the Iberian word for 'slingers'. *Bali-* appears to have been the older spelling (cf. *TLL* II 1697.16–24; P varies between *Balears*, *Baliares*, *Balares* and *Balires*) and is consistently printed *Baliares* by Briscoe. See further 20.9n. on *Baliaribus insulis*.

4.4 inexplorato 'without previous reconnaissance', an abl. abs. used adverbially. It does not occur before L. (who uses it on five occasions, e.g. 27.26.6, *in quae inexplorato euntes Romani ...*), and not again before Ammianus. For L.'s fondness for compounds in *inex-* cf. Oakley 1997: 625–6 (6.30.4n.). The word is a clear sign of incompetent generalship. At 12.2, *summa cum cura exploratis* (about Fabius) is in pointed contrast. **uixdum satis certa luce:** picked up at 6.9. **ab tergo ac super caput deceptae insidiae** 'the ambush from behind and above deceived

them'. P's reading has given rise to conjectures (see app.), but can be defended as an example of the active use of the perfect participle. Cf. Briscoe 2018: 53–4.

4.5 id quod petierat: for this casually inserted statement of motive see introductory n.

4.6 agminaque hostium ... ipsa inter se satis conspecta 'the enemy columns were adequately visible to each other'.

5.1 consul ... impavidus: cf. Sall. *Cat.* 60.4 (Catiline's bravery at Pistoria). L.'s positive presentation of Flaminius as fearless and energetic in his efforts at encouragement and in his own fighting (6.1) is at variance with Pol., for whom he is 'in the utmost dismay and dejection' (3.84.6). L. may here be following Coelius. This does not contradict L.'s basic line that the defeat was due mainly to the incompetence of the general and his gross underestimation of his opponent: his planning could be faulted, his courage not. **ut in re trepida ... ut tempus locusque patitur** 'given the terrifying situation' ... 'as far as time and place allowed'. With these explanatory and qualifying uses of *ut* cf. 21.7.7 and 12.4.

5.2 The proudly secular exhortation to the men to rely on their own *uis et uirtus*, rather than on prayers and supplications to the gods, is perilously close to an expression of that neglect of the gods for which Flaminius was held culpable.

5.3 prae strepitu ac tumultu 'for the din and turmoil'. *prae* here indicates the obstacle to perception (*OLD* 5a), as also at 6.8. **onerati:** they were still carrying their armour on their backs. **in tanta caligine** 'in so much murk'. The noun (also at 6.8) is weighty and sinister: it can designate the darkness of night or death. See introductory n. for Trasimene as a kind of night-battle. **maior usus aurium quam oculorum:** cf. Th. 7.44.4, there was much shouting, because it was impossible in night-time to communicate in any other way.

5.4 gemitus uolnerum 'the groans of the wounded'; lit. 'of the wounds', a metonymy: the wounds are parts of the wounded man. The tamer *uolneratorum* has been suggested, but one advantage of L.'s expression (given that Latin, unlike Greek, has no separate present passive ptcp.) is that it is more easily taken to include cries uttered at the actual moment of infliction. **ictusque ...** 'and [the noise made by] the blows ...'. **strepentium pauentiumque clamores:** with this reading (see app. for the more

obviously polar suggestion *terrentium* for *strepentium*) there may still be a Homeric opposition (as at *Il.* 4.450–1, cf. Aesch. Ag. 324–5) between the cries of attackers and victims of attack.

5.6 nequiquam impetus capti ‘attempts to break out were of no avail’ (with *capti* understand *sunt*); lit. ‘charges were vainly undertaken’, cf. *impetu capto* at 2.65.5 and 8.30.6 (with Oakley 1998: 710, who notes that this expression is stronger than *impetum facere*).

5.7 sibi quisque dux ‘every man his own commander’. For this idea cf. App. BC 3.68 (281), ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν. At Th. 4.126.5, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ μάχῃ probably means much the same. **ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios:** for exactly this formulation cf. Front. *Strat.* 2.3.16, except that the order of the first two categories is incorrectly reversed. The key text is Pol. 6.21.7–10, probably describing Roman arrangements in the Hannibalic period. He explains that a Roman legion is made up of an unspecified number of *uelites* (the youngest and poorest, light-armed skirmishers whom he calls γροσφομάχοι); then he mentions the 1200 *hastati*, ‘spearmen’, the *prima acies* or front line (L. 8.8.5); then 1200 *principes*, men in the prime of life (the *secunda acies*, 10.14.17 with Oakley 2005b: 191); finally 600 of the oldest, the *triarii* or ‘third-rankers’, a third or reserve line. Pol. transliterates the last three Latin terms into Greek. Since a standard legion consisted of 4200 men in this period, that leaves 1200 for the *uelites*. For L.’s account, which has divergences from Pol., see 8.8.3–14 with Oakley (1997: 451–75). See *HCP* on Pol. 6.21.7–8; Lazenby 1978: 13; Keppie 1998: 34–5 and 216–19 (glossary); and *OCD* ‘art of war, Roman’. **aut cohorte aut manipulo:** as the basic subdivision of the legion, the cohort (made up of three maniples of up to 160 men each) was an innovation of the time of Marius (late second century BC); see *HCP* II 302 on Pol. 11.23.1; Keppie 1998: 19, 63–7 and 217. But L. mentions cohorts from time to time (already at 3.69.8, unless that passage is anachronistic), so Marius was developing an existing institution.

5.8 animus ... animorum ... animus: the repetitions (whose effect should not be diluted by emendation) enact the single-minded persistence of the combatants; also, the mix of singular and plural directs attention to individuals as well as to the mass (W–M). **adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae ... nemo pugnantium senserit:** this tall story about the massive but unnoticed earthquake is not in Pol., but is traceable to Coelius (*FRHist* 15F14 a and b, with Briscoe’s comm.), as cited by Cicero. The massive tetracolon (four clauses) enacts the massivity of the earthquake and the fighting; L. avoids monotony by juxtaposing *prostravit* and *auertit* and then *amnes* and *mare*.

6.1 tres ferme horas pugnatum est: this too (5.8n.) is in Cicero, and is again likely to be from Coelius (see Briscoe's n. on the fragment). Given that the odds were so heavily stacked against the Romans, their reported three-hour resistance was impressive, and suits L.'s general insistence that Roman troops were good and brave fighters (4.2n.). **circa consulem tamen acrior ...:** see 6.5n. on *magnae*

6.2 impigre ferebat opem: see 5.1n.

6.3 Insuber eques—Ducario nomen erat: the Insubres were the 'most powerful people in Cisalpine Gaul' (*OCD*⁴). Their capital was Mediolanum (mod. Milan): 5.34.9. See *Barr.* map 39 DE 2; Briscoe 1973: 82 (31.10.2n.). For the good Celtic personal name Ducarius see Ellis Evans 1967: 165 (under CARO), and cf. 447–8 (under DUCA). Pol. just has 'some Celts' killed him. Ancient historians sometimes sought to satisfy a natural biographical curiosity about the man who dealt the fatal blow to a famous commander. Even the austere Th. identifies the killer of Cleon at Amphipolis as a Myrcinian peltast (5.10.9, unnamed); cf. also Pomaxathres or Maxathres the Parthian who killed Crassus at Carrhae on one version at *Plut. Crass.* 31.6. The identity and origin of the man who threw the fatal javelin at Julian the Apostate on his Persian campaign was much discussed in antiquity; see Bury's long editorial n. at Gibbon 1897: 514 n. 97. **facie quoque noscitant:** cf. 2.6.7, Arruns *facie quoque Brutum cognouit*; see next n.

6.3–4 '<en>' inquit 'hic est' ... 'manibus peremptorum foede ciuium dabo': for *mānibus dare* ('give to the shades') see 1.25.12 (Horatius addressing the last of the Curiatii triplets). But the present speech more closely recalls that of A. Cornelius Cossus as he attacks the Etruscan leader Lars Tolumnius at 4.19.3 (437 BC), with Ogilvie 1965: 632, and briefly W–M on the present passage: '*hicine est inquit ... 'raptor foederis humani ... iam ego hanc mactatam uictimam ... legatorum manibus dabo*'. The parallel may well be deliberate, but if so its intended function is less clear. The key may be in the difference: in book 4 the speaker is a conspicuously brave Roman who kills a non-Roman chieftain of a neighbouring city, but now a non-Roman invader kills a brave Roman consul. The victory over Veii, Fidenae and Falerii is a Roman success story, Trasimene a Roman disaster, and the verbal reminiscence draws attention to the depths to which Roman military fortunes have temporarily sunk. That Etruria was the site both of Tolumnius' kingdom and of Trasimene might have helped to suggest the parallel to L.'s mind. For another but less strikingly similar speech, cf. 2.6.7, Arruns to Brutus, with Delaruelle 1913: 156.

That a Celt should speak good educated Latin in the heat of a battle (cf. *uae uictis* in the mouth of ‘Brennus’ at 5.48.9) is not more surprising than that Trojans in Homer and Attic tragedy speak perfect Greek. On L. and the language barrier (occasionally recognised, usually ignored), see 13.6n., the Carthaginian muddle about the names Casinum and Casilinum. **popularibus suis** ‘to his compatriots’. The chime with *depopulatus* below is presumably unintentional. **agrosque et urbem est depopulatus**: the reference is to Flaminius’ consulship of 223 BC, during which he defeated the Insubrians: Pol. 2.32–3, L. *Per.* 20, and other evidence at *MRR* I 232.

6.4 armigero: an *armiger* was an armour-bearer or squire; the Greek equivalent is ὑποσπιστής, as at e.g. Hdt. 5.111.1. **objectis scutis** ‘blocking with their shields’, lit. ‘their shields having been interposed’; cf. 26.44.7, Scipio has three strong young men cover him with their shields. The consul Paullus was protected by a group of *equites* at Cannae, 49.2, perhaps in the same way.

6.5 magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit: despite the fierce effort round the person of Flaminius at 6.1, resistance collapses as soon as he is seen to fall (cf. Hdt. 9.63, the effect of the death of Mardonius on his white charger at the battle of Plataea in 479 BC, and from the world of Greek epic cf. West 2013: 149 and n. 35: ‘it is a typical motif that at the fall of the champion the troops turn to flight’). But L. has persistently emphasised that the mist prevented the Romans from seeing what was happening. Levene 2010: 269–70 and 289–91 regards this as a fundamental contradiction in L.’s otherwise mainly Pol.-derived account, arising from his wish to suggest that other factors were at work – Flaminius’ impiety and his aggressions against the Gauls in 223 BC. **iam nec lacus nec montes**: contrast 5.6, to which *iam* looks back. What follows is arranged chiasmatically, ABBA, the fate of those on the *montes* first, then those in the *lacus* (W–M). **per omnia arta praeruptaque uelut caeci euadunt**: at Th. 7.44.8, some of the desperate Athenians actually throw themselves off the cliffs of Epipolai. For *caeci* cf. 1.27.11, quoted in next n.

6.6 pars magna, ... progressi: as though *multi* had preceded the participle (Powe and Shipp). **capitibus umeris**: the asyndeton should probably not be emended away. **nando**: cf. 1.27.11, *in aquam caeci ruebant*. A fragment of Ennius (238 Sk), *alter nare cupit, alter pugnare paratust*, has been thought to refer to this detail (so De Sanctis 1968: 41 n. 62); but Skutsch 1985: 419–20 regards the present context as ‘far less probable’ than the Carthaginian attack on Sicilian Lilybaeum in 218 BC: L. 21.49.10.

6.7 immensa: sc. *fuga*, an unusual combination, almost a personification. **retro ... repetebant:** for this frequent pleonasm, cf. 9.2.8 and 10; 18.7. On the difference between 6.7 and Pol. 3.84.9 see Introduction, n. 111.

6.8 sex milia ferme ...: the rest of the chapter, describing the temporary escape by this large and spirited group, maintains the tension by not (immediately) allowing the Carthaginians to have things all their way; so too Pol. 3.84.11–14, where the effect on the reader is the same. Compare the break-out by the 300 Athenians in the final stages of the Athenian army's retreat from Syracuse; this too soon ended in failure: Th. 7.83.5 and 85.2. Tuditanus' breakout after Cannae (50) will be more successful. **prae caligine** 'for the murk'. On both *prae* and *caligine* see 5.3nn.

6.9 cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem ... ostendere foede Romanam aciem: a rhetorical (and successful) amplification of Pol.'s dry and brief account of this dismal moment: 'the mist having now lifted, they realised what had happened'. With L.'s first seven words, cf. 26.17.14 (Hasdrubal, see introductory n. above; that episode, too, will end with an imputation of *Punica fraus*, 26.17.15, cf. 6.12 below). *ostendere* is the older form of the perfect *ostenderunt*. **foede** 'hideously'. The adverb (to be taken with *stratam*) picks up Ducarius on the earlier fate of his countrymen at 6.4, *foede peremptorum*.

6.11 Maharbale: Hannibal's reliable, able and outspoken cavalry commander (51.2, *praefectus equitum*), son of Himilco. His first mention (in the third decade, at any rate), was as Hannibal's deputy at Saguntum, where his dynamism was stressed at the outset (*impigre rem agente*, 21.12.1), just as Th. introduces the super-energetic Brasidas by means of a deed of conspicuous audacity, τόλμημα (2.25). Maharbal's most famous moment will be as foil to Hannibal: see 51.4 for his rebuke to his leader for not moving straight against Rome after Cannae. He commanded the right wing at Cannae (46.7), but disappears from L.'s narrative after 23.18.4 (Casilinum). For another possible mention of him soon after this, see 8.1n. on *ab Hannibale*. **cum omnibus equestribus copiis:** this detail, not in Pol., is doubtful because it was difficult for ancient cavalry to pursue infantrymen over rough terrain and high ground (De Sanctis 1968: 41–2 n. 62, accepted at HCP 420, and for the limitations of ancient cavalry, who did not possess stirrups, see Spence 1993: 48). If so, it presumably arose from Maharbal's normal role as cavalry commander (previous n., and see 13.9). **cum singulis uestimentis:** the conventional allowance for men after the negotiated surrender of a besieged city; the women were sometimes allowed two garments, as at Th. 2.70.3

(Potidaia; the earliest attested example of such a ‘clothing allowance’), Paus. 9.1.7, and perhaps Nikokrates *FGrHist* 376F1 with Bonner 1941: 30. See 6.3.3 with Oakley 1997: 415, and 31.17.3 with Briscoe 1973: 102; also Pritchett 1971–91: V 299–300, citing other Carthaginian concessions in the Hannibalic war, e.g. Plut. *On the courage of women* 10 (*Mor.* 248f, cf. 3, Chios, *Mor.* 245a): Hannibal in 220 offered the free population of Salmantika in Spain one *himation* each; but at Saguntum in 219 (L. 21.13.7), he proposed that the entire population should evacuate the city with two garments each.

6.12 Punica religione seruata fides: sarcastic. At the beginning of the third decade, L. charges Hannibal with irreligiosity and disregard of sworn oaths (21.4.9), but the passage as a whole is influenced by Sallust on Catiline and Jugurtha (Levene 2010: 100–1), and the conclusion is at variance with much of the narrative in the rest of the decade (see e.g. 7.5n. on *funeris* ...). In the present context, Pol. (3.84.14) merely says the 6,000 laid down their arms and surrendered under a truce, in the hope of saving their lives. L.’s account can be taken as exonerating Maharbal: it is Hannibal who breaks the promise, thus in effect over-ruling his subordinate. Pol. 3.85.2 makes the over-ruling explicit (he tells the prisoners that Maharbal was not authorised, κύριος, to act without consulting him). With *Punica religio* here, cf. 48.1n. on *Punica fraus*.

7.1 haec est: cf. the deliberate repetition at 50.1, *haec est pugna <Cannensis>*; the formula recalls *hic exitus* in obituary notices in historical writers: see Oakley 1997: 567 (6.20.14n.), and 2019: 150; cf. 39.51.2. **nobilis** ‘famous’; another anticipation of Cannae (see previous n.): the word will be picked up by Fabius at 39.8, warning Paullus before Cannae to avoid another and more (in)famous Trasimene (*nobilior alius Trasumennenno locus* ...). **inter paucas:** L. was perhaps thinking of the Allia and the Caudine Forks, as well as Cannae (at 50.1, L. cites the Allia specifically).

L.’s summation is much more solemn, elaborate and pointed than that of Pol. (3.84.15), which lacks the comparison with other Roman disasters.

7.2 quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa sunt: L.’s Roman total (15,000 dead, 10,000 survivors, see next n.; total 25,000) is plausible. It is preferable to that of Pol., who gives the figure 15,000 both for the casualties on the Roman side in the defile, and for the prisoners (3.84.7 and 85.1). This has led to the supplement *totidem capta* here (after *caesa*, cf. app.). See however Bispham and Cornell at *FRHist* III 39 (comm. on 1F23, cf. 7.4n.). **decem milia:** in this total, L. (i.e. Fabius) seems to have included the released Italian allies.

7.3 duo milia quingenti: contrast Pol.'s 1,500 for the Carthaginian casualties (85.5), which should not be emended to <δισ>χιλίους merely to harmonise it with L. (so rightly *HCP* 420 and *FRHist* III 40). **traditur ab aliis:** presumably including Pol., who is not, however named here, although he was certainly a main source for L. in the preceding battle narrative.

7.4 Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui: for L.'s mentioning of variation in his sources, and for Fabius Pictor in particular, see Introduction section 3. The present passage is *FRHist* 1F23. Trasimene is in fact the latest event which Fabius is known to have covered.

For L.'s belief that contemporary sources are more reliable, see 8.40.5, the emphatically placed final sentence of that book.

7.5 captiuorum qui Latini nominis essent ... datis: L. uses *socii ac nomen Latinum* and *socii Latini nominis* interchangeably and the latter does not necessarily exclude Italian allies. Here it must refer to both Latins and Italians in the Roman army. See Briscoe 1973: 77–8 (31.8.7n.). L. does not explain Hannibal's differential treatment of allies and Romans, but the reason is clear: he wished to drive a wedge between Rome and the inhabitants of Italy. His inability to do this except to a limited extent (see esp. the authorial comment at 13.11) means that his ultimate failure in the war was as much political as military. Pol. (3.85.2–4) spells it out here: Hannibal explains to the prisoners that he 'had not come to fight against the Italians, but against the Romans for the freedom of the Italians'. At 13.2, L. mentions analeptically that the Italians so released included three Campanian cavalymen. For the narrative technique here, see Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 101 on Hdt. 6.13.2. **funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non inuenit:** cf. 8.10.10, the hunt for the body of Decius, 340 BC. Hannibal is presented on this occasion as the Decent Barbarian (see Introduction section 8(a) for the implications of this action for his supposed irreligiosity: disrespect for the dead was a form of impiety). Similarly, but on that occasion successfully, Hannibal will search for the body of Paullus after Cannae and give it burial (52.6, where, however L. merely ascribes this to 'some authors'; both these searches are in L. only, not Pol.). A pentad later (Introduction section 4 for the parallels between books 22 and 27), Hannibal buries the body of Marcellus (27.28.1, magnificently according to Plut. *Marc.* 30.2). But the Roman consul Claudius Nero will not return these chivalrous compliments: after the battle of the Metaurus, he flings the head of Hasdrubal before the camp of his brother Hannibal: 27.51.11, where the detail that

he had ‘preserved it with care’ *servatum cum cura*, may be an ironical echo of the present passage (not that *cum cura* is a rare expression: it occurs seventeen times in L.). As Powe and Shipp remark of the present passage, ‘what a contrast to the brutality of Nero ...!’. Cf. the insulting use made of the head of Crassus at Plut. *Crass.* 31 and 33. Greek and Latin authors used the treatment of warrior-heroes after death to explore the uncomfortable paradoxes inherent in the relation of their own peoples to the barbarian ‘other’. The archetypal text is early in *Il.* 24: the Greek Achilles initially retains and dishonours the corpse of the non-Greek Hector, but for the complexities of this (Homer’s Trojans do not commit such outrages), see Hall 1989: 27–8. After Thermopylae (480 BC), Xerxes cuts off Leonidas’ head and sticks it on a pole. This surprises Hdt. because (he says) Persians usually respect brave enemies, so he concludes that Leonidas must have angered the King a lot (7.238). He ends the main narrative of his Histories with the crucifixion of the Persian Artayktes by a notable Greek, Pericles’ father Xanthippus (9.120.4). Both Hdt. and L. leave it to their hearers and readers to work out the implications of these contrasts and reversals of ethnic stereotypes.

7.6–11.9 THE AFTERMATH OF THE BATTLE OF TRASIMENE

L. now proceeds to narrate the events that followed the disaster at Trasimene; with the exception of 9.1–6 he concentrates on the reaction at Rome, the initial panic, particularly among women (7.6–14), accentuated by the news of the defeat of C. Centenius in Umbria (8.1–4), followed by the measures taken to deal with the situation: the election of Fabius as dictator (8.5–7), the religious actions instigated by Fabius (9.7–10.10) and the senate’s decisions concerning the army which was to face Hannibal (11.1–2). In the rest of 11 Fabius takes over Servilius’ legions and despatches him to Ostia to conduct naval action.

The ripples from Lake Trasimene were felt beyond Rome and Italy, although L. confines himself to the domestic reaction. The news reached Philip V of Macedon at Argos in July: Pol. 5.101.3 (cf. 10), where Trasimene is (as usually in Pol.) ‘the battle in Etruria’. Philip promptly convened a peace conference at Naupactus to end the ‘Social War’ then in progress (since 220 BC) between two sets of allied Greeks, one of them led by himself. It is possible that his aim was to attack the shattered Romans and replace their dominance by his own; but his domestic preoccupations may be adequate to explain his policy shift. See Chaniotis 2018: 155–7. It was at Naupactus that one Agelaus made his famous prophecy that one

of the ‘clouds from the west’ (i.e. the eventual winner out of Rome and Carthage) would settle on Greece and deprive the Greeks of the luxury of making war on each other: Pol. 5.104.10.

7.6–13 Cf. Pol. 3.85.7–10. L.’s much longer account derives, directly or indirectly, from Coelius. It constitutes one of ‘a number of self-contained set-pieces of *fama*’ in the third decade (Hardie 2012: 256 and n. 78, comparing Lucan 1.466–522, and noting the ‘gendering of rumour and gossip’ (see esp. 7.7 and 11–12)). Contrast the dignified behaviour imposed by the ephors on the Spartan women after the decisive defeat at Leuktra in 371 BC: Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.16.

L. frequently describes crowd-scenes, depicting the emotions involved. Cf. Walsh 1961: 170–2, 184–7, 206–8.

7.6 concursus in forum populi: *populi* depends on *concursum*, not on *forum*, the noun nearest to it, though there is no real ambiguity; for this idiom of word order, common in L., cf. Briscoe 2008: 36 (38.3.11 n.).

7.7 quae repens ... esset ‘what was the sudden disaster that had been reported ...’.

esset should probably be taken as predicative with both *repens clades allata* and *fortuna exercitus*, not as first auxiliary and then predicative.

7.7–8 frequentis contionis modo turba ... tandem: the crowd, both men and women, is finally addressed by Pomponius; in Pol. the praetor, unnamed, summons an official (i.e. consisting of male citizens) *contio*.

7.8 M. Pomponius: four magistracies between 231 and 216 are held by men called M. Pomponius: M. Pomponius Matho, consul in 231, the praetor of 217, M. Pomponius Matho, *magister equitum* in 217 (33.11 and n.) and M. Pomponius Matho, praetor in 216 (35.5). They could be all one man, two or three men, or four different men. For full discussion see Broughton, *MRR* I 246 n. 4. On the announcement being made by the *praetor peregrinus* rather than the *praetor urbanus*, see Brennan 2000: 659–60, criticising Broughton, *MRR* I 246 n. 6 for thinking that such an announcement would normally be made by the *urbanus* and that there was therefore some reason why he could not do so. **pugna ... magna uicti**

sumus: Pol.’s version of this famously laconic announcement is λειπόμεθα μάχη μεγάλη (Pol. 3.85.8; Plut., *Fab.* 3.5 has νενικήμεθα ὧ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλη μάχη). Brennan (2000: 699–700) thinks that the point of the story is that Pomponius’ words were tactless and made the disaster worse than it was: it was scarcely an exaggerated description of the loss of 15,000 men

(7.2), with 6,000 prisoners (6.8–12). Pomponius did not know the details and thus said nothing more.

7.10 quot ... animi: i.e. everyone who had a relative serving at Trasimene was anxiously wondering whether he had been killed or, if still alive, was trying to make his way to Rome through Etruria (cf. 7.2) or was a prisoner. Every army engaged in combat was going to suffer casualties, but never before had a Roman one lost so many in one battle (cf. 7.1, Pol. 3.85.9; for the Allia see 50.1–3n.). **fuerant:** L. writes about what actually happened, though he has just said that those in Rome did not yet know the facts. **distracti:** Weissenborn's clearly correct emendation of *dispraeti* in P. *dispertiti* (Λ), for long the accepted reading, was not a bad guess, but *dispertire* is used metaphorically only with abstract nouns (TLL V 1.1414.24–52); for the corruption see Heraeus 1885: 98.

7.11 postero: *die* is to be understood from the following *diebus*. **sciscitantes** 'enquiring'; L. uses *sciscitari* on nineteen occasions, thirteen of them in the first decade. **utique ab notis** 'at least from those they knew'.

7.12 cerneret 'you could have seen'. L. frequently addresses the reader in this way, using the second person singular of the potential imperfect subjunctive (*cerneret* also at 33.48.11, 42.30.2; see also 54.11n. for *compares*, and cf. 24.4n.). Cf. Briscoe 1973: 75 (31.7.11n.); Oakley 2005a: 60–1 (9.2.8n.). The technique, a species of authorial apostrophe, enhances *energeia*, vividness; cf. (for Homer) De Jong 1989: 18. **laeta aut tristia:** for these antonyms (opposites) cf. *laeta tristia* in asyndeton at Tac. *Hist.* 1.3.2, with Adams forthcoming. **gratulantesque ... circumfusus** 'and people surrounding them as they returned home, congratulating or consoling'. The clause depends on *cerneret* and *domos* goes with *redentibus*, not *circumfusus*.

7.13 These anecdotes are repeated by Val. Max. 9.12.2 in his chapter on unusual deaths, using, as often, the language of his source to the point of plagiarism, the second by Plin. *NH* 7.180 and Gell. 3.15.4, both talking of Cannae instead of Trasimene (it follows that Gellius' source was Pliny, not L.). **complexu:** an instance of a true reading being preserved by an indirect tradition: P has *conspexu*, corrected to *conspectu* from the following *conspectum*, which became the accepted reading; Val. Max. has *complexu*, restored in L. by Alschefski. **fili:** the repetition after *filio* is unobjectionable; H. J. Müller initially deleted *fili*, but later retained it, describing the expression as ponderous.

7.14 praetores: at least three of the four praetors were in Rome: the *praetor urbanus*, M. Aemilius (9.11), the *praetor peregrinus* M. Pomponius (7.8n.)

and T. Otacilius Crassus (10.10n.); A. Cornelius Mammula (25.6n., and see 23.21.4) was probably already in Sardinia. With one consul dead and the other cut off in Umbria (cf. 8.1n.), the praetors, holding equal *imperium*, presided over the senate jointly (presumably, that is to say, they jointly decided which senators were called on to speak and which *sententiae* were put to the vote; obviously, only one could speak at a time and announce their decisions); similarly, a joint session of the US Congress is presided over by the Vice-President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

orto: this is one of a number of passages which say that the senate met at dawn, and it has often been assumed that this was the normal practice. Ramsey (2008), however, argues convincingly that all these meetings took place at a time of crisis (as is certainly true here) and that it cannot be generalised (his purpose is to show that the senate did not meet at dawn on the Ides of March, 44 BC).

8.1 The defeat of C. Centenius. This episode is also reported at Pol. 3.86.1–5, Nep. *Hann.* 4.3, App. *Hann.* 9–11.36–48, Zon. 8.25.9. On Appian's version and the location of the defeat see *HCP* 420–1. **C. Centenio propraetore:**

Centenius (1) is not otherwise known and his rank is uncertain: it is not impossible that he had been a praetor before 218 and that the senate granted him propraetorian *imperium*. Nepos calls him a praetor, as does Zonaras (στρατηγός), which he certainly was not (all the praetors of 217 are known), Appian 'one of the distinguished private citizens'. L. may have written *pro praetore*, the correct designation: cf. Briscoe 2008: 574 (appendix 2). The only other Centenius known (2) is M. Centenius Paenula, a centurion who, in 212, offered to lead a force of 5,000 men and secure a victory against Hannibal in Lucania; the offer was accepted by the senate (they gave him 8,000), but he was defeated, with total loss of his troops (25.19.9–17); Appian's account may represent a conflation of the two episodes. **ab**

Seruilio consule: he is at Ariminum (Pol. 3.86.1); when L. last mentioned him (2.1), he was still in Rome. **in Vmbria:** Polybius does not specify the location, and L. probably found it in Coelius, though it could have been his own intelligent inference. Lake Trasimene is in the far south of Etruria (4.1–7.5n.).

ab Hannibale: in fact by Maharbal, whom Hannibal had despatched for the purpose (Pol. 3.86.4). One cannot exclude the possibility that L. wrote *Maharbale* and that *Hannibale* is a corruption, though nobody has ever proposed reading *Maharbale* here; cf. 48.5–6n.

8.3–5 Polybius too (3.86.6) uses a medical simile, but L.'s is different and more complex. It is anticipated by *aegritudine* (8.2) and continued by *remedium* (8.5). For other instances of medical language in L., see 18.9, 42.40.3; note also Quadrigarius *FRHist* 24 F49.

8.3 causa ‘symptom’; cf. *OLD* 13. **magis ... grauior:** for the pleonastic comparatives (W–M call it overloaded) cf. K–St II 464.

8.4 inciderit: representing *incidit* in *oratio recta* (Petrarch emended to *inciderat*, Ingerslev to *incideret*). **aestimandum esse:** H. J. Müller added *censere* after *esse* (for his alternatives see app.): a verb of saying or thinking is easily understood from *aestimare* above.

8.5 remedium: L. uses *remedium* of a dictator also at 3.20.8. **iam diu ... adhibitum:** the last dictator *rei gerendae causa* was A. Atilius Caiatinus in 249, but dictators were appointed to hold the elections in 246 and 231, and Fabius himself had held the office before (cf. 9.7n.) **mitti:** in P, as corrected, *mitti* is followed by *nec dictatorem populus creare poterat*. As Mommsen realised, L. cannot have written that, since it is precisely what happened. It is a gloss, influenced by 31.8–11 (cf. n. there).

8.6 An illustration of the senate’s willingness, when necessary, to be flexible and not bound by the *mos maiorum*. Pol. (3.87.6–9) reports the election of Fabius and Minucius after his account of Hannibal’s march to the Adriatic, with a digression about the office of dictator; he wrongly states that other magistracies, with the exception of the tribunate, were suspended during a dictatorship. See 31.8n. **dictatorem:** for *prodictatorem* in the Ascensian edition see 31.10n. **Q. Fabium Maximum:** (116). This is the first certain mention of Fabius in the third decade (the identity of the *legatus* of 21.18.1 cannot be determined), though early readers would have encountered him in book 20. He had been consul in 233 and 228 and censor in 230; both L. (9.7) and the *Fasti Capitolini* record that this was his second dictatorship: the first was presumably in order to hold the elections and is probably to be dated to 221 (cf. Broughton, *MRR I* 235 n. 3). For his role in the Hannibalic War (he is to hold further consulships in 215, 214 and 209), see Introduction section 9. On the portrayal of Fabius in L. and other writers, see Roller 2018. **magistrum equitum** ‘Master of the Horse’, a dictator’s second in command. His *imperium* is inferior to that of the dictator, an issue which will dominate the ensuing narrative (see 25.10–29.11nn.). The *Fasti Capitolini* strangely list Fabius and Minucius as *dictator* and *magister equitum interregni causa*. **M. Minucium Rufum:** (52). He had been consul in 221. With Flaminius and Varro (cf. 25.18n.), he is one of the trio of ‘popular leaders’ (Scullard 1973: title of ch. III (‘Liberal Politics and Popular Leaders, 218–216 B.C.’)) heavily criticised by L. in book 22; cf. Introduction section 9.

8.7 negotium ab senatu datum: the enhanced powers of a dictator did not prevent the senate from giving him what were tantamount to

instructions. **pontesque rescinderent fluminum:** those over the Tiber and the Anio; if the detail is authentic, the senate is preparing for an imminent attack on Rome itself, and the Nar (thus W–M, Dimsdale; *Barr.* map 42 CD3–4) was too far away for action to be taken in time. Cf. perhaps 2.10 (Horatius Cocles and the Tiber). **Italiam tueri nequissent:** Hannibal's victory at Trasimene had opened the way into central Italy.

9.1–6 L. briefly interrupts his account of events in Rome following Fabius' election as dictator in order to relate Hannibal's march southwards and, briefly, the actions of the surviving consul.

L.'s account differs significantly from that of Pol. 3.86.8–87.5 and will derive, at least in part, from Coelius (see Introduction pp. 9 and 12). Pol. puts the emphasis on Hannibal's desire to reach the Adriatic, which both provides the ideal environment for his army to recover from the rigours of the winter and early spring and enables him to send news of his victory to Carthage by sea. Pol. places all this after his journey through Picenum, while L. puts the recovery in Picenum, but there is no chronological discrepancy, as W–M think: rather L. never mentions the Adriatic as such, while Pol. obscures the fact, or perhaps did not realise, that Picenum was close to the Adriatic.

9.1–2 Pol. has nothing about an attack on Spolet(i)um by Hannibal (also at Zon. 8.25.10, saying that its failure, together with the destruction of the bridge over the Nar (cf. 8.7n.), made Hannibal abandon his plan to march on Rome). It should not, though, be regarded as an annalistic invention designed to explain the latter (thus Kahrstedt 1913: 413 n. 4; cf. *HCP* 421–2; Seibert 1993a: 164–5). The diversion involved is not great, and Hannibal may have abandoned his attempt very quickly, thus enabling him to reach the Adriatic on the tenth day after the beginning of his march (Pol. 3.86.9). See Klotz 1940–1: 139; Lazenby 1978: 66.

Spolet(i)um (mod. Spoleto: *Barr.* map 42 D3) was a Latin colony founded in 241, as reported by L. in book 20 (see *Per.*); cf. Briscoe 2012a: 453 (43.19.10n.).

9.2 minus: P has *haud minue* and correctors of both M and C made the obvious alteration to *haud minus*, which, however, makes L. say that the attack on Spoletium was successful. Most subsequent conjectures (see app.) retained *haud*, but, as Luterbacher saw, *haud* is a gloss by someone who thought that *minus* was in need of explanation (for *minus* 'not very' – i.e. not at all – cf. *OLD* 4b). **quanta ... esset** 'how great was the strength of the City of Rome'; for *moles* in this sense cf. *OLD* 9. L. writes both *urbs Roma* and *urbs Romana*, the latter more frequently except in the nominative (only six instances, four with *Roma*, two with *Romana*).

9.3–4 Cf. Pol. 3.86.9–87.3. L. is much briefer, but adds the reference to the effects of the battle of Trasimene (*proelio ... facili*): perhaps Pol. thought that an army did not need to recover from a victory.

9.4 *refectusque ... adfectus*: a contrast, impossible to achieve in translation, produced by variation of the prefix and repetition of the root. **leui aut facili**: it is hard to see how it could have been one and not the other.

9.5 Cf. Pol. 3.88.1–6, after the election of Fabius and Minucius and the digression on the dictatorship (see 8.6n.). Pol. says that Hannibal used old wine to cure skin conditions in both men and horses. **Praetutianum Hadrianum<que>**: to the south of Picenum (*Barr.* map 42 F3). Inscriptions spell the former *-tutti-*, but the MSS of both Pol. and L. have a single consonant and it is uncertain what either wrote. Hadria, originally Hatria, was a Latin colony founded between 290 and 286 (*Per.* 11); cf. Weiss, *RE* VII 2164–5; Salmon 1969: 62–4. **Marsos ... Paelignos**: Pol. (3.88.3) specifies the Marrucini and the Frentani (*Barr.* map 42 G4, G–H4). The Marsi and Paeligni (*Barr.* map 44 2E and 1E) lived, respectively, to the S and NE of the Fucine Lake, a long way from the direct route to Apulia, and Walbank (*HCP* 423) is therefore sceptical about L.'s account: the detour is, however, less if Hannibal was starting from the Marrucini rather than the Frentani; he may have wanted to move closer to Rome in case of a change in the strategic situation. All four names could derive from contemporary accounts.

9.6 Pol. says nothing about Servilius; Appian (*Hann.* 12.50) says that he encouraged the Gauls still loyal to Rome, Zonaras (9.25.3) that he acted to punish those who had defected and prevent them helping Hannibal. L. deals with Servilius in one periodic sentence. **ad urbem iter intendit**: on the *uia Flaminia* (see 11.5n.).

9.7–10.10 Religious Measures

Just as the battle of Trasimene had been preceded by a long list of prodigies and expiations (1.8–20nn.), so it is here followed by a series of exceptional expiatory acts. L. is at pains to emphasise that the disaster was a result of Flaminius' contempt for religion. By contrast, the measures taken after Cannae (57.5–6), though they included the exceptional sending of a *legatus* to Delphi, are reported briefly and not without a trace of scepticism (see nn. there). Pol. (3.88.7) says only that Fabius sacrificed to the gods before leaving Rome.

9.7 *dictator iterum*: cf. 8.6n. **quo ... iniit**: the language regularly used for the beginning of the consular year (cf. Packard 1968: III 161). **ab**

dis orsus: religious matters always took precedence over secular business: see Gell. 14.7.9, citing the memorandum on senatorial procedure produced by Varro for Pompey, as consul designate in 71 BC. It was a *topos*, in both Greek and Latin, that all activities should begin (and end) with the gods; cf. 38.48.14, 45.39.10; Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 102; Briscoe 2012a: 742 (45.39.10n. on *omnium*). Meetings of the *comitia* and *contiones* began with a prayer: Oakley 1997: 672 (6.35.7n.); Briscoe 2008: 270 (39.15.1n.). It was the same at the Athenian Assembly: Din. 2.14, Aeschin. 1.23. **neglegentia ... auspiciorum** cf. 21.63.7–9, 1.5–7 nn. **temeritate atque inscitia:** for *temeritas* cf. 3.4n.; for the coupling with *inscitia* cf. Oakley 1997: 627 (6.30.6n.).

9.7–8 quaeque piacula ... adire iuberentur: on the *decemviri sacris faciundis* and the Sibylline books see 1.16n. The books are regarded as being divinely inspired.

9.8 non ferme ... nuntiata sunt: at 43.13.1, a famous passage (on which see Introduction section 8 pp. 59–60 and n. 151), L. says that in his time prodigies are hardly ever reported: the present *decernitur* here, therefore, has perhaps been taken over from his source; for similar instances in passages derived from Pol., cf. Briscoe 2013: 122–4.

9.9 fatalibus libris: L. calls the Sibylline books *fatales* on seven occasions, with a remarkably bunched distribution: the others are 10.10, 57.6, also 5.14.4, 15.11, 42.2.4 and 6. **quod ... faciendum esse** ‘the vow to Mars which had been made because of the war had not been properly performed and must be repeated afresh and performed more fully’. There has been no specific mention of this, though it could be one of the vows ordered to be made at 21.62.10 (thus W–M). *eius belli causa*, however, suggests that it was made at the beginning of the war in 218. Cf. the repetition of the *uer sacrum* in 194 (34.44.2, with *non esse recte factum*). *uotum* here is a participle, not a noun. **foret:** L. frequently uses *fore(n)t* instead of *esse(n)t* in the pluperfect subjunctive, with no difference of meaning; the usage is avoided by Cicero and Caesar; cf. K–St I 167.

9.10 Ioui ludos magnos: *ludi magni uotiui*, to be distinguished from the annual *ludi Romani*, were vowed in times of crisis, to be performed if the *res publica* survived for a stated number of years (cf. 10.2n.); see Briscoe 1973: 79 (31.9.5–10n.); Rosenberger 1997: 150. **Veneri Erycinae:** Eryx (*Barr.* map 47 B2), the name of both city and mountain, was in the extreme NW of Sicily. The Romans will have come to know of the cult of Aphrodite there during the First Punic War and it may already have been associated with the Aeneas legend (*Virg. Aen.* 5.759–60 says

that he founded the temple there). The goddess, housed on the capitol near Jupiter, was therefore not quite treated as a foreign import: see Introduction section 8 p. 72, citing Gruen 1993: 47. There was a very topical aspect too: ‘Trojan kinship may have been a factor: it meant that the Romans had a better right to the goddess than the Carthaginians’ (Erskine 2001: 202). But if this Venus was thought of at Rome as a Roman equivalent of Astarte, the Romans were at the same time propitiating a goddess thought of as friendly to Carthage (so Palmer 1997: 53–72; Parker 2017: 61 and n. 107; Hornblower 2018: 56–7). See also Gruen 1990: 9, 14; 1993: 46–7. The temple vowed now was dedicated in 215 (23.30.13, 31.9, saying, respectively, that Fabius had vowed it as dictator and was appointed as a *duumvir* to dedicate it). At 40.34.4 L. reports the dedication of a temple of Venus Erycina *extra portem Collinam* in 181, and it is likely in fact that both temples were outside the Colline Gate; see further Briscoe’s n. (2008: 493–4). **Menti:** this is the last of a series of temples dedicated to deities of abstractions (e.g. *Salus*, *Honos*, *Fides*) during the third century BC. Cf. Latte 1960: 233–42. The attention now paid to the goddess of Reason was an expression of what L. regarded as piety, in the sense of ‘not giving way to anxiety and fear when dealing with the gods’: Scheid 2015: 85–6. **supplicationem lectisterniumque:** see 1.15, 18 and 10.9nn. **uer sacrum ... permansisset:** the *uer sacrum* (‘sacred spring’) was an old Sabellic rite, originally involving a vow to sacrifice everything that was born the following spring. Humans, however, were not killed but had in due course to leave their native land for a new one; later, the human element was on the usual view removed entirely (but see Hornblower 2018: 190 n. 23 for a speculative alternative suggestion that the present vow had something to do with the burst of colonising activity in the mid 190s). Cf. Briscoe 1973: 332 (33.44.1–2n.); Cornell, *FRHist* III 86; Tikkanen 2017. **resque publica:** *-que* divides *res publica* also at 3.26.9, 3.54.8, 5.52.14 and 8.13.18. **eodem ... quo ... statu:** the antecedent is attracted into the relative clause; cf., e.g., 40.20.3, with Briscoe 2008: 462.

9.11 M. Aemilius praetorem: (20); the *praetor urbanus* (33.8). He may be M. Aemilius Regillus (128), *flamen Quirinalis* and a candidate for the consulship of 214 (24.7.12, 8.10).

10.1 L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus: (211). He was consul in 237 and succeeded L. Caecilius Metellus as *pontifex maximus* in 221. The *pontifex maximus* was the leader of one of the four major priestly colleges; see *OCD* ‘*pontifex/pontifices*’. He was elected by seventeen of the thirty-five tribes, chosen by lot, thus combining the will of gods and men. At this time

vacancies in the priestly colleges were filled by co-option. **iniussu ... posse:** the accusative + infinitive depends on a verb of saying understood from *censet*.

10.2 rogatus: a proposal put to an assembly is called a *rogatio* and *rogare* is the verb used of the magistrate making the proposal, on this occasion presumably the *praetor urbanus*. The vow itself was performed by the praetor A. Cornelius Mammula (cf. 25.6n.), as L. reports at 33.44.2. **uelitis ... fieri:** the asyndetic *uelitis iubeatis* (for the addition of *-ne* cf. Cic. *Dom.* 80 with Nisbet 1939: 143) were the opening words of a *rogatio* and *rogo* occurred at the end (cf. Gell. 5.19.9, Crawford 1996: 10). The subjunctives are normally regarded as an indirect question depending on an initially understood *rogo*; cf. Nisbet 1939: 109–10 on Cic. *Dom.* 44 and Briscoe 2008: 190 (38.54.3n.). L. uses the formula also at 38.54.3 and, with imperfect subjunctives following *promulgavit*, 31.6.1. *uelitis iubeatis* is usually followed by *ut(i)* with the content of the *rogatio* in the present subjunctive; since L. here proceeds with the terms of the vow in *oratio recta*, he adds *haec sic fieri* (Lipsius, followed by Ursinus, wanted to delete the phrase).

10.2–6 si res publica ... liber esto: in view of its difficulty we translate this passage in its entirety.

‘If the state of the Roman people, the Quirites, as I would wish and vow, survives safely for the next five years, in these wars, the war which exists between the peoples of Rome and Carthage and the wars with the Gauls who dwell this side of the Alps, then let the Roman people, the Quirites, give as a gift to Jupiter whatever the spring shall produce from pigs, sheep, goats and cattle, and if it is not dedicated to any other god, starting on the day ordered by the senate and the people. Let he who does it do it when he wishes and with whatever procedure he wishes, in whatever way he does it, let it be regarded as properly done. If that which ought to be a gift dies, let it be regarded as not consecrated, and let it not be an offence. If anyone shall damage or kill it unwittingly, let there not be a liability. If anyone steals it, let it not be an offence for the people or the person from whom it was stolen. If he does it on a black day unwittingly, let it be regarded as properly done. If he does it by night or by day, if he is slave or free, let it be regarded as properly done. If the senate and people order it to be done earlier than it is done, let the people be free, dispensed from that obligation.’

The consistently archaic character of the Latin makes it likely that this is an authentic text, perhaps preserved in the *annales maximi*, rather than an invention by L. himself or his source, who cannot be determined. (The

annales maximi were the chronicle kept, until the late second century BC, by the *pontifex maximus* (10.1n.), and eventually, perhaps in the age of Augustus, transcribed, with substantial additions, into eighty books; cf. *OCD*¹; more fully *FRHist* I 141–59 (J. W. Rich) and, for the testimonia and fragments, II 11–31.) But formulae of this kind would have been traditional, and the terms of the vow may well have been archaic even for the Romans of 217. On the other hand, some archaic usages occur in legal and religious Latin of the late Republic (cf. Powell 2005: 133–6), and it would not have been impossible for Claudius Quadrigarius or Valerius Antias to compose such a text. For a fuller discussion of the text see Briscoe forthcoming.

10.2–3 res publica populi Romani Quiritium ... populus Romanus Quiritium: *Quirites* is the regular way of addressing the Roman people collectively. L. couples *populus Romanus* and *Quirites* on thirteen occasions (also at 1.24.5, 32.11, 13, 8.9.7–8, 9.10.9, 10.28.14, 41.16.1), in eight of them, as in 10.2, with both *populus Romanus* and *Quirites* in the genitive; in five, as in 10.3, with a different case of *populus Romanus*. It follows that L. always regarded *Quiritium* as depending on *populus Romanus*, not as in asyndeton with or apposition to it, as at Gell. 1.12.14, 10.24.3, *CIL* 6.32323.97, 99, 130 (at Varr. *L.* 6.86 *Quiritibus* is a commonly, but probably wrongly, accepted conjecture for *Quiritium*). The etymology of *Quirites* is obscure; the Romans themselves believed that it derived from the Sabine city of Cures (Varr. *L.* 5.51, 6.68, *L.* 1.13.5, Ov. *Fast.* 2.480, Paul. *Fest.* 43L (cf. *Fest.* 200L), Serv. *Aen.* 7.710; cf. Col. praef.19). It has therefore been thought that in conjunction with *populus Romanus* it refers to the Sabine element in the population. *res publica* precedes the phrase also at Varr. 6.86 and *CIL* 6.32323.96, 129. See Ogilvie 1965: 79 (1.13.5n.); Oakley 1998: 492–3 (8.9.8n.). **ad quinquennium proximum:** the expression is illogical, apparently a combination of *per quinquennium proximum* and *ad quintum annum* (cf. 30.2.8 *in quintum annum*).

sicut uelim <uou>eamque: P has *eamque saluam seruauerit*, which, apparently, leaves *res publica populi Romani Quiritium* without a predicate and itself lacks a subject. The Mainz edition of 1519 read *sicut uelim eam, salua seruata erit*, which long remained the accepted reading. That is not impossible, but *uelim eam* is awkward, and Madvig realised that *eamque* was the remains of a second present subjunctive, coordinate with *uelim*. There is no other instance of the passive of *saluum seruare*, though there is no reason why it should not have been used. The first persons refer to the proposer, not the individual members of the assembly voting for the *rogatio*. Sometimes the definitive text of a law preserves such elements of the *rogatio* (cf. Crawford 1996: 10). **salua seruata erit:** In the Iguvine tablets

salu(u)o(m), *saluam*, *salu(u)a*, followed by *seritu*, the Umbrian equivalent of *saluum*, *saluam*, *saluas seruato*, occurs in prayers on seventeen occasions (VI a 31–2, 41–2, 51–2, VI b 12–13, 33–4, VII a 15, 29–31), *saluam seruassis* at Cato Agr. 141.3, *saluum seruaueris* and [*seruaueris s*]*aluom* in the *acta fratrum Arualium*. Cf. Untermann 2000: 652–3, 669–70. **hisce duellis**

... **Alpes sunt**: the repetition of the antecedent is characteristic of formal Latin and is common in comedy; it is also frequent in Caesar but rare in L.; cf. K–St II 283. In narrative L. would have written *qui cis Alpes habitant* rather than repeat *sunt*.

hisce as the form of the dative and ablative plural of *hic* is frequent in early Latin but occurs thirty-six times in Cicero; cf. *TLL* VI 3.2701.13–21.

duellum is the archaic form of *bellum*, used by L. also at 1.32.12, 23.11.2, 36.2.2–3, 40.52.5. It had been obsolete since Plautus and was reintroduced into poetry by Horace; Cicero uses it only in archaising contexts (cf. Powell: 2005, 136). See *TLL* V 1.2181.49–54.

10.3 tum donum duit: P has *datum donum duit*, but ‘give a given gift’ is impossible, even in an invented formula, and a variety of emendations have been proposed. As Madvig saw, L. wrote *tum*, emphasising that it was precisely when the state had survived for five years that the vow would be fulfilled. *datum* will have resulted from anticipation of the following words beginning with *d*.

donum duit is a cognate accusative; cf. K–St I 276; Oakley 1997: 719 (6.42.5n.), saying that they became much rarer after the middle of the first century BC and that they ‘probably had an archaic tone in L.’s day’; here *donum* has the sense of ‘gift-offering’. *duit* is the archaic form of the present subjunctive of *dare*, cf. de Melo 2007: 240–63. **ex suillo ... grege**:

asyndeton is a feature of formal Latin, including laws; cf., e.g., *RS* 14, the *lex Cornelia de xx quaestoribus*; *bouillus* is found elsewhere only in the *mulomedicina Chironis*; *caprinus*, *ouillus* and *suillus* are not uncommon, the first two being used by Cato Agr., *suillus* by Plautus, Cato Agr. and Claudius Quadrigarius. The attributive adjectives are used in place of a genitive plural.

quaeque profana erunt: *profana* here means ‘not dedicated to any other god’. They are part of the animals defined in *quod ... grege*, not additional to them: the sense of *quaeque* is thus ‘and if they are not ...’. The plural is influenced by the collective noun *grege*.

Ioui fieri: a final infinitive with *donum duit*; for such infinitives with *dare* cf. K–St I 681, though in early Latin they are limited to *dare bibere*, cf. Briscoe 2008: 536 (40.47.5n.). **ex qua die**: *dies* is feminine because it is the beginning of a defined period (for the gender of *dies* cf. Fraenkel 1964: 27–72); see, briefly, Briscoe 1981: 396. *uer* alone would have been imprecise. The end of the period must also have been stated (cf. 34.44.3); see 10.6n. on *si ... esto*.

10.4–6 The remainder of the text defines a series of possibilities which are not to invalidate the performance of the vow (see further 10.4n.). The desire to provide for all eventualities is characteristic of Roman (as of Greek) religious language; cf. Oakley 1997: 533–4 (6.15.2n.). The passage contains a series of future imperatives, one of *facito* and eight of *esto*; the form is regular in laws and treaties and occurs also in the Delphic oracle at 23.11.3 and the peace treaties at 38 chs. 11 and 38, where the equivalent Greek forms occur in Pol. The equivalent in Umbrian is used consistently in the Iguvine tablets (cf. Buck 1904: 176, Poultney 1959: 138).

10.4 lege ‘procedure’. **faxit**: the archaic form of the present/perfect subjunctive / future perfect indicative of *facere*, repeated three times in 10.6 (once passive, a hapax); all are future perfect. Livy uses it on eight other occasions, all in formal contexts. Cf. *TLL* VI 1.83.18–78; Leumann 1977: 621–3; Briscoe 1981: 54–5 (34.4.21n.); Powell 2005: 134; de Melo 2007: 169–215. **probe factum esto**: the phrase is repeated twice in 10.6 and also occurs in the *deuotio* formula at 8.10.12: cf. Oakley 1998: 502. It is probably an old religious formula, but is attested otherwise only in sacred laws of the imperial period (*CIL* III 1933, XII 4333). On the religious implications of the stipulation that any ritual procedure will be valid, see North 2000: 38 (the Romans are not quite dictating to the gods but ‘defining the nature of the offer’ made by the vow). For the combination of *esto* with the perfect participle, cf. K–St I 165, citing otherwise only four passages of Ovid.

10.5–6 moritur ... rumpet occidetue ... clepsit ... faxit ... faxit ... iusserit: the verbs in the conditional clause vary from present to future to future perfect. We are unaware of a parallel but the phenomenon has the ring of authenticity. For the present in a future sense cf. K–St I 119–20.

10.5 fieri: sc. *donum Ioui*. **neque scelus esto**: for *neque* linking a negative to a third person positive imperative, cf. K–St I 203, citing also Cic. *Leg.* 3.11 and L. 38.38.8, both passages of formal Latin containing archaic features (see 10.4–6n.). **rumpet**: for *rumpere* ‘damage’, ‘render a part of a body useless’ cf. *OLD* *rumpo* 8, *RS* II 607; the usage occurs elsewhere only in legal contexts, among them the Twelve Tables (*RS* II 604–5). **insciens**: unaware that the animal had been consecrated to Jupiter. The adjective occurs in Plautus, Terence and Cato *Agr.*, eleven times in Cicero (and once in a letter from his son), twice in Caesar and once in Nepos. L. uses it elsewhere only at 7.5.3. **fraus**: the word can mean both ‘liability to punishment’

and ‘criminal act’ (cf. *TLL* VI 1.1267.41–77, 1269.20–1271.54). The former appears in the Twelve Tables (*RS* II 625 *se* (= *sine*) *fraude*, which Cobet wanted to read here), while the latter is not found in early Latin. Either way, the meaning is essentially the same as that of *scelus* in the preceding sentence. **clepsit ... cleptum erit**: future perfect, active and passive of *clepere*, a verb mainly attested in early Latin; *clepsit* occurs also at Cic. *Leg.* 2.22, an archaising passage (cf. Powell 2005: 134 and on *faxit* above). (P has *coeptum*, corrected by Petrarch in A.) **ne populo ... erit**: no guilt shall attach either to the Roman people (sc. invalidating the *uer sacrum*) nor to the person from whom the animal was stolen (sc. for not having taken precautions against theft). For *ne ... neue* cf. K–St I 204, citing passages from Cic. *Leg.*, L. 38 chs. 11 and 38 (see 10.4–6n.).

10.6 atro die: *atri dies* were the days following the Kalends, Nones and Ides (perhaps originally only the Ides), on which sacrifice was prohibited; see *FRHist* III 171–2. **si nocte ... siue liber**: again guarding against all eventualities. For *si ... siue*, found in the Twelve Tables, Plautus and Terence, cf. K–St II 434–5. *si seruus si liber* (for *si ... si* cf. K–St II 435) occurs frequently in British curse tablets. **si ... esto**: i.e. if an animal is sacrificed later than the last day specified as the end of the *uer sacrum*; see 10.3n. For *ac* following a comparative (*antidea* is a virtual comparative), found in Plautus and Terence, cf. K–St II 20. **antidea**: Lipsius’ correction of *ante id ea* in P, involving merely the deletion of one letter. There can be little doubt about either its correctness (it has never been challenged) or its authenticity, even though the form is a hapax (Plautus has *antidhac* on nine occasions). Cf. *TLL* II 137.69–76. **solutus liber**: probably not to be taken as an asyndeton; rather, *solutus* goes with *eo*, *liber* with *esto*; *liber* with the plain ablative is not attested before Cicero.

10.7 ludi magni: cf. 9.10n. **aeris ... triente ... trecentis**: P has *trecentis triginta tribus milibus triente*. a *triens* is one-third of an *as*, and a figure of 333,000⅓ asses is inconceivable; Budé saw that a second *trecentis triginta tribus* had been omitted (a scribe’s eye moved from *tribus milibus* to *tribus*). The previous figure had been 200,000 asses (cf. Dion. Hal. 7.71.2, Ps-Ascon. 217 Stangl; Crawford 1974: 615, 627 n. 1), and it appears that the figure was increased to take account of a reduction in the metal content of the coinage while retaining the original amount of bronze (cf. Crawford 1974: 615). For similar figures, see *OGIS* 480 line 10, and Dittenberger n. 14. **praeterea ... hostiis** ‘with in addition ...’. The ablatives are of accompaniment and there is no need to understand *feri* and *uotum est* (thus W–M).

10.8 nuncupatis: cf. 1.6n. quos ... cura 'who, having some wealth of their own, felt concern about matters of state'. The relative clause defines those *agrestes* who took part in the *supplicatio* (hence the variation from adjective agreeing with *multitudo* to genitive plural depending on it): they were reasonably well off (*in aliqua sua fortuna*) and so could be concerned about affairs of state; poor country-dwellers would not have had the time or money to travel to Rome: there were, of course, plenty of urban poor, but they were on the spot and many would not have had regular employment. W–M compare Tac. *Hist.* 1.88.3–89.1 *sapientibus quietis et rei publicae cura ... uulgus ... communium curarum experts*.

10.9 lectisternium: cf. 1.18n., and n. on *sex puluinaria* ... below. **decemuiris sacrorum:** cf. 1.16n. L. writes *sacrorum* on twelve occasions (six of them in books 40–45), the formal *sacris faciundis* on only seven (5.13.6, 6.5.8, 6.37.12, 10.8.2 and 3, 27.6.16, 27.8.4), four of them of the original *duumviri*. **sex puluinaria ... Cereri:** at the *lectisternium* of 399 there were three couches, for Apollo and Latona (his mother), Hercules and Diana, and Mercury and Neptune. On this occasion all six pairs consist of a god and a goddess. The resulting list more or less corresponds to that of the Twelve Olympians of Greek religion (Wissowa 1912: 61 and n. 5), but with slight differences from the canon as depicted on the Parthenon frieze: Dionysus (Latin Liber) has been replaced by Hestia/Vesta, partly so as to maintain the strict gender balance, which is not a particular feature of the Greek pantheon. (In Greek thinking, Hestia and Hades/Pluto – also an 'Olympian' in one sense – cannot leave their prescribed spheres.) The first two pairs include the Capitoline triad (cf. 1.17n.); Neptune and Minerva were syncretised with Poseidon and Athena, frequently found in dispute in Greek mythology (cf. Wüst, *RE* XXII 460–1; Burkert 1985: 141), Mars and Venus with Ares and Aphrodite, brother and sister, and also illicit lovers, in Greek mythology (cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 945; Sauer, *RE* II 646–7), Diana with Artemis, Apollo's sister and frequently associated with him (cf. Wernicke, *RE* II 1361–2, 1418, 1422–3; Burkert 1985: 147), Vulcan and Vesta, deities of fire and hearth, were naturally associated, but there is no Greek evidence for an association between Hephaestus and Hestia, their Greek equivalents (the absence of a digamma does not necessarily mean that *Vesta* is not derived from *Ἑστία*, as claimed by Süss, *RE* VIII 1261; cf. Biville 1990: 81). In Greek mythology, Hephaestus was married to either Charis, or Aphrodite, or Aglaie, cf. Bremmer 2010: 299; while Hestia was associated above all with Hermes: Vernant 1983. Mercury and Ceres were syncretised with Hermes and Demeter; for their association cf. Eitrem, *RE* VIII 761 and Burkert 1985: 160. The picture that emerges reflects the Greek elements in the *lectisternium* (cf. Briscoe

1973: 76 (31.8.2n.)), an institution which owes something to Greek notions of θεοξενία, ritual entertainment of the gods, usually at a meal; see *OCD* 'theoxeny'.

10.10 Veneri ... Menti aedem: cf. 9.10nn. **quia ita ... esset:** a very convenient discovery by the *decemviri*. **fatalibus libris:** cf. 9.9n. **editum:** *edere* is the regular verb for the *decemviri* announcing expiations on the basis of what they had found in the Sibylline books (21.62.7, 37.3.5, 40.45.5, 42.2.3, 6, 43.13.7); it is also used of expiations announced by the pontifical college on its own authority. P has *edictum*, corrected by N in the twelfth century. **T. Otacilius:** (12). T. Otacilius Crassus was the son of the homonymous consul of 261; the family originated from Beneventum and had been ennobled by the praetor of 217's uncle, consul in 263 and 246. Crassus subsequently assumed command of the fleet at Lilybaeum (31.6, cf. 25.6) and continued in this role as propraeor in 216 (37.13, 56.6–8), 215 (23.21.5, 32.20). He stood for the consulship of 214 and received the vote of the *centuria praerogativa*, but Fabius Maximus, despite Otacilius' being married to his niece (he was, moreover, the half-brother of M. Claudius Marcellus, who was elected instead; cf. Münzer, *RE* XVIII.2 1862), intervened to prevent his election; he was, nevertheless, elected to a second praetorship and continued in command of the fleet until 211, when he died (cf. *MRR* I 259, 264, 269, 274–5). For the family's long tradition of naval service cf. *FRHist* III 388. Otacilius dedicated the temple in 215 (23.32.20).

11.1 Cf. 2.1, 9.7nn. Fabius now proceeds to the assignation of provinces and armies, the business normally dealt with at the beginning of the consular year; cf. 2.1n.

quibus ... censerent: the indirect question depends on *rettulit*, Fabius will have said *quibus ... censetis, patres conscripti?* **quibus quotue:** both the identity and number of the legions had to be determined, the latter first. Disjunctions (*ue, uel, aut*) are often used conjunctively in Latin (cf. H–S 500), but the word order is an instance of the illogicality sometimes found in L. For the legions in service in 217 and 216, see Introduction section 10 p. 84.

11.2 Cn. Seruilio: now on his way back to Rome (9.6). **scriberet ... duceret:** the senate, mindful of the reasons for the appointment of Fabius as dictator, replies 'Do as you wish.' **e re publica** 'in the interests of the state'. L. uses the phrase forty-two times, often, as here, of the senate telling a magistrate to do as he thought fit (cf. Packard 1968: II 2–3). Theoretically, the senate was always only advising the magistrates, but

in practice the Republican system of government depended on senate and magistrates working together; when the senate said that a magistrate should do what he regarded as *e re publica*, it was effectively approving in advance of whatever he did.

11.3 duas legiones: see Introduction section 10 p. 84. The four legions of the present passage must be those which he divides with Minucius at 27.10. The two which Fabius now enlists are replacements for those lost at Trasimene, to which he adds the two of Servilius. **Seruilianum:** for adjectives formed from a *nomen* and *-anus*, referring to armies or camps, cf. 32.1 and *Claudianus* at 23.31.3, 5, 39.8, 48.2, 25.22.7, 27.46.2. **Tibur ... edixit:** for the place name, with or, in the case of a town, without a preposition, with *diem ad conueniendum edicere*, cf. 23.31.5, 31.11.1; both the place name and *diem*, it seems, depend on *edicere*. What Minucius said to the soldiers would have been something like *Tiburi a.d. ... conuenite* (the day was that by which they had to be at Tibur). Tibur (mod. Tivoli; *Barr. map* 43 D2) was an old Latin town which, like Praeneste, not far to its south, remained independent after the Latin war (340–338); cf. 1.9n.

11.4–5 Another long and complex period (cf. 3.7–9n.; one could punctuate with a comma after *edixit* and make it even longer, though that might give the impression that *edixit* and *edicto* had the same reference). It begins with an ablative absolute (*edicto proposito*), with an indirect command depending on it, consisting of two clauses (*ut ... loca tuta* and *ex agris ... esset*); the subject of the first is defined by a relative clause (*quibus ... essent*), the second of which is expanded by two ablative absolutes (*tectis ... corruptis*), with a final clause (*ne ... esset*) depending on them. At this point, finally, the subject (*ipse*) is expressed, followed by a participial clause (*uia Flaminia profectus*) and *obuiam consuli exercituique*, fulfilling the function of a final clause depending on it; a *cum* clause (*cum ... prospexisset ... progredientem*) follows, with a present participle in agreement with the object; lastly comes the predicate for *ipse* (see n. on †*uiatore misso*†), followed by a relative final clause with an indirect command dependent on it.

11.4 castellaque immunita ‘unfortified ... hamlets’ (Foster). For *castellum* of a small community cf. *TLL* III 525.42–57; at first sight the phrase is paradoxical, since *castellum* normally means ‘fort’. In Classical Latin *immunitus* is used of places only here and at *Ov. Met.* 10.169, of persons at *Frontin.* 4.1.19 and *Apul. Met.* 8.5.1 (*TLL* VII 1.508.69–80). **ut ii:** L. frequently repeats *ut* in indirect commands, especially in formal contexts; cf. Oakley 1998: 434 (8.6.14n.). P has *uti* (cf., e.g., 8.6.14), but with *quibus* preceding, Gronovius’ *ut ii* should be accepted. See also 40.9n.

11.5–8 Cf. Pol. 3.88.7–8; L.’s account probably derives ultimately from Fabius Pictor; cf. *HCP* 423–4.

11.5 corruptis ‘spoilt’. **uia Flaminia**: the main road from Rome to the *ager Gallicus*, built by Flaminius during his censorship in 220–219 (*Per.* 20); cf. Briscoe 2008: 214–15 (39.2.10n.). **obuiam** ‘to meet’. The adverb is regularly used instead of a final clause with verbs of motion, especially *ire*. **exercituque**: for the dative in *-u* cf. 2.1n. on *habendoque dilectu*. **Ocriculum**: the MSS of Pol. (3.88.8) say that Fabius met Servilius near Daunia (περὶ τὴν Δαυνίαν), which is geographical nonsense because Daunia is a region of Apulia. Seeck’s Ναρνίαν is almost certainly right: Ocriculum (mod. Otricoli) is only c.9 km. SSW of Narnia (mod. Narni). (*Barr.* map 42 C4, D3 respectively.) See further Oakley 2005a: 546 (9.41.20n. on *et aliam* ...). **uiatorem misit**: P has *uiatore misso*, which leaves the sentence without a main verb; the problem can be dealt with either by changing *misso* to *misit* (later MSS) or by adding an indicative (*substitit* before *uiatore* Weissenborn, *restitit* after *ueniret* Novák). The former is more likely, the *-m* being lost by haplography and *misit* subsequently altered to the participle. A *uiator* is the official messenger of a magistrate or priestly college; this appears to be the only time a *uiator* is mentioned in a non-civil context. Cf. Oakley 1997: 528 (6.15.1n.); Habicht, *RE* VIII A 1928–40. **sine lictoribus**: the consul still possessed *imperium*, but it was inferior to that of the dictator, who had twenty-four *fascēs* (equivalent to those of the two consuls together); by ordering Servilius to come to him unaccompanied by his lictors, Fabius was asserting that the consul was subject to the superior *imperium* of the dictator. L. perhaps expected his early readers to recall that Augustus’ *imperium proconsulare maius* and *potes-tas consularis* were signified by only twelve *fascēs*.

11.6 uetustate ... imperii: in fact thirty-two years ago (cf. 8.5n.). L. is, no doubt, thinking of the soldiers, the oldest of whom would have been fourteen or fifteen in 249. But in itself *uetustas* (and *uetustus*) suggests something much earlier. *uetustate* is an ablative of cause (cf. Pinkster 2015: 903). **litterae ... captas esse**: this is the first mention of Carthaginian naval activity during the Hannibalic War (for the war at sea cf. Briscoe *CAH* VIII 65–7). Pol. reports this expedition at 3.96.8–10, after the events in Spain narrated in 19, mentioning attacks on Sardinia and the area near Pisa, of which L. has nothing, but not the present episode. **Ostia**: Rome’s port; for its early history cf. Oakley 1998: 516 (8.12.2n.); 2005b: 573–4 (addendum to 6.6.14n.). The name can be either feminine singular or neuter plural: L. normally chooses the former, but the latter occurs at 37.1 and 9.19.4; at 27.23.3 P has *Ostis*, but the evidence for the

Spirensian tradition points to *Ostiae*. **portum Cosanum:** Cosa. On the Etruscan coast near Orbetello (mod. Ansedonia; *Barr.* map 42 A4) was a Latin colony founded in 273; cf. *OCD*¹; Briscoe 1973: 172 (32.2.7n.), with addendum at 344. For its port (not identical with the *portus Herculis*, mod. Porto Ercole; thus W–M), cf. McCann *et al.* 1987.

11.7 Cf. Pol. 3.88.8. **nauiбусque ... completis:** Pol. 3.75.4 L. says that at the end of the consular year 218–217 the Romans equipped sixty penteremes. L. has not previously referred to them. **ad urbem Romanam:** cf. 9.2n. The ships were in the *naualia*, on the east bank of the Tiber adjoining the Campus Martius. Cf. Briscoe 2008: 545 (40.51.6n on *et aliam* ...). **milite:** marines. **naualibus sociis:** L. uses *socii nauales* / *nauales socii* to mean just ‘sailors’, whether they were Roman citizens or members of allied states (he similarly uses it of foreign navies); cf. Briscoe 1981: 59 (34.6.12n.). **persequi ... tutari:** L. narrates Servilius’ naval campaign in ch. 31.

11.8–9 L. says that a large number of men were recruited at Rome and that these included freedmen who had children and were of the age required for service. From this body, described as an *urbanus exercitus*, those under thirty-five years of age served at sea, the rest remained in Rome to garrison the city.

The only previous instance of freedmen being enrolled in the Roman army is in 296 (10.21.4 with Oakley 2005b: 232), the next in the Social War (*Per.* 74). Naval service is mentioned at 36.2.15 (191) with Briscoe 1981: 221; 40.18.7 (182); 42.27.3 (172) with Briscoe 2012a: 240; 42.31.7 (171); 43.12.9 (169); 10.21.4. For ex-slaves (*uolones*) serving in the legions during the Hannibalic War, see Oakley as above.

The levy was always conducted in Rome itself, from members of both the urban and the rural tribes (Pol. 6.19.5–20.9), but by *urbano exercitu* L. must mean that on this occasion only city-dwellers were involved. *legiones urbanae*, on the other hand, are legions which remain in Rome, ready to be sent elsewhere if necessary, and recruited in the normal way; cf., e.g., 23.31.3, 25.3.4.

The reasons for recruiting freedmen only if they had children were, presumably, that they were likely to be physically fitter than the childless (for the poor health and low level of fertility among the urban population, cf. Brunt 1971: 385–8) and more reliable in battle.

11.8 in uerba iurauerant: the oath of obedience taken at the time of the levy (Pol. 6.21.2–3). For the phrase cf. *OLD iuro* 5a (and see Aug. *RG* 25.2, the famous oath of loyalty to Octavian taken by *tota Italia* in 31 BC).

11.9 alii ... relictī: elsewhere (1.43.2, 5.10.4–5, 6.6.14, 10.21.4) it is *seniores* (i.e. those over 46) who garrison the city; cf. Oakley 2005b: 514 (additional n. on 6.6.14).

12–18 FABIVS SHADOWS HANNIBAL

The corresponding Polybian narrative is at 3.88–94; see further below. Hannibal crosses the Apennines eastwards to Apulia, then back westwards to Campania, all the time seeking unsuccessfully to provoke Fabius to combat. He eludes Fabius near Casilinum by a trick, and returns to Apulia. His unavoidable need to extract booty from the territory of Roman allies, so as to feed his army, undermines his political aim of winning the allies over. But back at Rome, and in Fabius' own army, discontent grows.

L.'s structure is carefully organised. Confrontation refused (apart from the Hostilius disaster at 15.4–10 and the skirmish at 18.1–4) would have made for a tediously monochrome narrative. So L. includes two extended splashes of colour at nicely judged intervals: Minucius' speech at 14.4–14, which ranges in time from the Gallic sack to Saguntum, and the stratagem of the flaming oxen at 16.5–17.4. Of these the first is entirely non-Polybian, the second is essentially Polybian (Pol. 3.93–4), but with some picturesque and perhaps poetically-derived elaboration, such as the comparison of the oxen to fire-breathers (17.5). L. also greatly sharpens and expands the essentially Polybian contrast between Fabius' qualities and those of his detractors. See 12.6n. on *prudētiā* ..., and 12.12nn. on *pro cunctatore* ... and *pessima ars* ...: the moralising comment on the deplorable behaviour of future Roman subordinates (perhaps Marius) is not Polybian. Whole episodes are added to Pol.'s account from somewhere else: the Campanian cavalymen and the ridiculous muddle over the place names Casinum and Casilinum (13.2–9) are new. The Campanian theme will be important in book 23, for which Pol.'s full account does not survive, so that it is not possible to assess the degree to which L. drew on Pol. The extended narrative of the language muddle can be explained in various ways (perhaps to make fun of Hannibal, or to illustrate his cruelty): see 13.6n. The surprisingly full account of the defeat and death of Hostilius Mancinus (15.4–11) is not from Pol.; it may reflect the second-century unpopularity of this man's ill-fated family.

Conversely, some Polybian material is cut or much reduced: see 14.1n. (L. does not attempt to reproduce Pol.'s encomium on the fertility of Campania at 3.91. Perhaps he thought it unnecessary for the Italian readership he had in mind.)

12.1 a Fulvio Flacco legato: thought to be Quintus (59), four times consul during a long career (237, 224, 212 and 209, in which year he was colleague of Fabius) and twice urban praetor (215, 214). In 205 he supported Fabius' attempt to prevent Scipio being sent to Africa: 28.45.2. See *OCD*¹ 'Fulvius Flaccus, Quintus' no. 1, and Briscoe, *CAHVIII* 71–3. **per agrum Sabinum:** for the Sabini, and their territory, NE of Rome, see *Barr.* map 43 1–2C ('Sabina') and *OCD*¹ 'Sabini'. They were made citizens without suffrage in 290 and full citizens in 268. **Tibur:** see 11.3n. It was on the river Anio, and controlled one main route from Rome into the central Apennines. See *OCD*¹.

12.2 inde Praeneste: see 1.9n. It was on a spur of the Apennines, and was the terminus of the *uia Praenestina*; see *OCD*¹ 'Praeneste'. The city's attitude to Rome was ambiguous: in 216, loyal Praenestine soldiers were offered Roman citizenship but declined it, 23.20.2. **in uiam Latinam est egressus:** the *uia Latina* (*Barr.* map 44 C2–F3) was the more northerly of the two main roads from Rome to Campania, the other being the *uia Appia*, which it joined at Casilinum (Strabo 5.3.9). See *OCD*¹ 'via Latina', where the 'old' road (*ILS* 1174) is that to which L. here refers. **summa cum cura exploratis:** unlike the reckless Flaminius, see 4.4n.

12.3 haud procul Arpis: for Arpi, see 1.9n. When Hannibal was last heard of, he was laying waste to the territory of Luceria and Arpi (9.5). Pol. (3.88.9) specifies that Fabius' camp was at Aecae (*Barr.* map 45 B2), about fifteen miles SW of Arpi and due S. of Luceria, on the Apennine foothills. Neither author gives detail of Fabius' route from the *uia Latina*, a long mountain march through Samnium, perhaps past Bovianum (W–M), for which see 24.12n.; or to Beneventum and up the Calor (mod. Calore) and Cerebalus (Cervaro) valleys: *Barr.* maps 44 GH 3 and 45 BC 2.

12.4 uictos tandem illos Martios animos Romanis 'that the famous martial spirit of the Romans was beaten'. *illos* (see app.) here means 'once famous [but no longer]', as at 1.31.6 and 9.6.12; see Briscoe 2018: 56. See also 27.2n. *Romanis* is a dative of disadvantage. *Martios* hints at Mars as father of Romulus; cf. 10.27.9 *Martius lupus* ... with Oakley 2005b: 316.

12.5 tacita cura: this must be pure conjecture on the part of L., if Pol. was his source. **esset ... quaesissent:** subjunctives because a report of Hannibal's thinking. **parem Hannibali ducem:** not *sibi*, because the subject here is *Romani*. Cf. *Fabio* at 29.2.

12.6 prudentiam quidem dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam haud dum expertus: the transmitted words *non uim* before *dictatoris* are probably an

ancient gloss. For Fabius' *prudencia*, see *parere prudenti* at 29.9 (Minucius), and Fabius' own speech at 39.12, where – as here – it is combined with the idea of *constantia*. See n. there. *sollers* at 23.1 (applied to Fabius' policy of *cunctatio*) has a similar force to *prudens*. 12.6 and 7 look like L.'s elaboration of Pol., with a view to emphasising the contrast between Fabius' prudence and the rashness of Minucius and Varro (for *temeritas* as an insistent theme of the whole book, see 3.4n.). But this is elaboration not invention: Pol. 3.89.3 uses pleonastic language to emphasise Fabius' prudence (οὔτε νουνεχέστερον οὔτε φρονιμώτερον οὐδένα δυνατόν ἦν χρῆσθαι τοῖς τότε περιστῶσι καιροῖς). For an earlier contrast between an older wiser man and a younger impetuous colleague, see 23–30n. (Camillus and L. Furius at 6.22–5). **populandoque in oculis**: the verb for 'ravaging' and its cognates occur several times in these chapters, culminating in the imposing *populabundus* at 18.6; see n. there; cf. also 12.9, 13.1 and n., 14.2. Minucius' speech naturally contains the thought, but he whips up indignation by expressing it visually: smoke arising in full view from burning farm-houses and fields, 14.8. For *in oculis* see *OLD oculus* 4, and cf. 14.4n.

12.7 modo ... modo: see 1.3n. on *nunc ... nunc*. **occultus subsistebat** 'he would lie in wait hidden'.

12.8–10 This is mostly close to Pol. 3.90.1–4.

12.10 uniuerso periculo 'by a risky general engagement'; cf. Pol. 3.90.5, εἰς ὁλοσχερῇ δὲ κρίσιν. **aut uirtutis aut fortunae**: see 18.9n. for this sometimes antithetical pair of concepts, not here strongly opposed (as is also true of *uirtute ac fortuna* at 29.2). This particular formulation is the contribution of L., not Pol.

12.11 sed non Hannibalem magis infestum ...: the thought is similar to that expressed by Fabius himself to Paullus at 39.4: your struggle will be as much with Varro as with Hannibal. The underlying motif, which is surely L.'s own formulation, recurs in varied forms at 27.2 (Minucius boasts of having defeated Fabius as well as Hannibal), 29.2 (Fabius says that Minucius is equal to himself in *imperium*, but Hannibal is his superior) and 29.6 (Hannibal's own supposed reflections). **nihil aliud ... morae ... habebat**: i.e. the only thing that prevented him (lit. 'the only delay') from plunging the *res publica* into disaster was (consciousness of) his inferior *imperium*. 'Delay' (usually expressed by *cunctatio*) is a Fabian theme, here cleverly re-applied to his critic. **impar erat imperio**: see 8.6n. on *magistrum equitum*. **ferox ... immodicus**: the presentation recalls that of the rash young L. Furius as *ferox* at 6.23.3; see 23–30n. It may ultimately owe something to the Thucydidean demagogues Cleon (3.36.6, esp. βιαϊότατος,

‘most violent/forceful’, and 4.21.3, cf. Walsh 1961: 105 and Rodgers 1986: 336 n. 8) and Athenagoras of Syracuse (6.35.2), but the element of insubordination recalls Homer’s Thersites (*Il.* 2.211–77). See further 14.14n. on *audendo atque agendo*. On the characterisation of Minucius, see further Will 1983: 177 (stereotypical embodiment of *ferocitas* and *temeritas*, cf. *Per.* 22 with Levene 2015: 316); Bernard 2000: 263 and 439–40.

Enn. *Ann.* 256–7 Sk (book VIII fr. 3) is probably part of an address to Minucius by his supporters, who say they want to fight under him whether he is Dictator, Master of the Horse, or consul. There was no question of Minucius actually serving as consul on this occasion, but he did take command of half the army, like a consul (27.10). See Skutsch 1985: 430 and 439.

12.12 pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum: for the first pair cf. 27.4, *cunctatione ac segnitia*, and for the technique (a negative reformulation of a positive quality), cf. Th. 3.82.4 (the *stasis* at Corcyra), esp. μέλλησις δὲ προμηθῆς δειλία εὐπρεπής [ἐνομίσθη], ‘farsighted delay was thought an excuse for cowardice’. See also 39.20n. on *timidum* The whole of 12.12 greatly expands Pol. 3.90.6 (cf. 90.3), where Minucius ran down Fabius for conducting affairs in a ‘cowardly and sluggish way’, ἀγεννῶς ... καὶ νωθρῶς.

The *cunctatio* theme is, naturally, recurrent in the chapters in which Fabius the great *cunctator* (Enn. *Ann.* 363 Sk, *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*) is prominent; see esp. 14.5 *cunctatione et socordia*, 14.10 *cunctantibus*, 15.1 *cunctationem*, 23.1 *sollers cunctatio* and 27.4, cited above. For this as an Ennian motif, see Elliott 2009, but for reservations see Introduction n. 113. **compellabat** ‘he [repeatedly] criticised him’ **premendoque superiorem** ‘by disparaging his superior [officer]’. For *premo* in this sense see *OLD* 23. **pessima ars ... creuit:** this moralising remark recalls the L. of the main Preface (see Introduction section 8(b)), and is not Polybian. It reads as if L. has in mind military disloyalty more recent than the Hannibalic age, perhaps even close to his own day, or at least from the later Republic. The prime example of a man who got ahead in this way was C. Marius; for his undermining of the proconsul Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus in 108 BC, see *MRR* I 549 (esp. Sall. *Iug.* 64.5 *cupidine atque ira, pessumis consulti- toribus*, and διαβαλεῖν, ‘disparage’, at Cassius Dio 26 fr. 89.3). Less likely is the mutiny led by C. Flavius Fimbria against the consul L. Valerius Flaccus in 86. This was narrated by L. (*Per.* 82), but Fimbria’s career after that was brief and disastrous; see *MRR* II 53 and (for his suicide in 85) 59.

13.1 ex Hirpinis in Samnium: the Hirpini (see Oakley 1998: 275 n. 3 (excursus following 7.29.2)) were sometimes reckoned part of Samnium, most of which lay to the north, but L. here distinguishes the two. This may

be (so W–M) because the Samnite league had been dissolved after the Samnite Wars. Pol. does not mention the Hirpini here. **Beneventanum depopulatur agrum:** for the verbal root, see 12.6n.; the prefix indicates thoroughness, see *OLD* under ‘*dē-*’. Beneventum, on the northern edge of the territory of the Hirpini (*Barr.* map 44 G3), was always an important communications hub. See *OCD*¹, *PECS* and Oakley 2005a: 328 (9.27.14n.), where L. explains that it was previously called Maleventum. The change to a more auspicious name (cf. Plin. *NH* 3.105, *auspicatius*) was no doubt connected with the sending of a citizen colony there in 268 BC, paired with Ariminum (*Per.* 15, Vell. Pat. 1.14; *MRR* I 200). Hopeful renamings of sites when they became colonies can be paralleled (Hipponium became Vibo Valentia and Thurii became Copia), and ill-omened names might be changed to happier ones (e.g. Nequinum to Narnia). But this one (‘Bad Outcome’ to ‘Good Outcome’) must have been felt specially appropriate because Maleventum was the site of the battle in 275 which finally drove King Pyrrhus from Italy, although it may in fact have been based on an Oscan toponym (Oakley, as above). L. here mentions Beneventum for the first time in this decade, but it must have featured extensively in book 14, although the *periocha* of that book merely speaks in a general way of Pyrrhus’ defeat and enforced departure, without naming the place (contrast *Per.* 15, as above). **Telesiam urbem cepit:** Telesia (*Barr.* map 44 G3) was another strategically important Samnite town, near the junction of the Calor and Volturnus rivers, just beyond the Apennine foothills. It seems to be mentioned here for the first time in any source. Pol. (3.90.8) has Venusia, but the well-known city of that name (*Barr.* map 45 C3, mod. Venosa), a long way S. of Arpi, cannot be meant, so that an otherwise unknown Samnite place called something like ‘Venusia’ has been posited (*HCP* 424; Lazenby 1978: 69). It is probably better to stick with Telesia, which is between Beneventum and Campania. **ducem <Romanum>:** the specification is necessary: see Briscoe 2018: 57. **indignitatibus cladibus:** in the OCT Briscoe followed Walters in deleting *cladibus* and defended the deletion at 2018: 57. The matter is, however, controversial, and we have therefore restored *cladibus*, but have given Walters a *fort. recte* in the apparatus. *cladibus* is to be taken as an intensifying asyndeton (‘indignities, nay disasters’). **ad aequum** ‘on level ground’. Fabius has been up high: Telesia is on the plain.

13.2 inter multitudinem ... tres Campani equites erant: not in Pol. For Hannibal’s freeing after Trasimene of troops from Rome’s Italian allies, see 7.5 and n. For the Campanian cavalry aristocracy, a privileged group at Capua (13.9n.), see Frederiksen 1968, suggesting that its origins lie in the Greek colony at Cumae, and noting (p. 6) that Campanian cavalry

remained loyal to Rome not only at Trasimene (the statement in the present passage that they had fought on the Roman side in the battle) and even earlier (8.14.10), but even after Capua had revolted in 216: 23.4.8. See also Diod. 13.44.1–2 for the 800 Campanian cavalry on the Athenian side at Syracuse in the late fifth century, with Frederiksen (p. 13) and *CT* on Th. 6.98 (who does not mention them).

13.3 *res maior quam auctores*: that is, the matter was too serious to be undertaken on their authority.

13.4 *etiam atque etiam* ‘ever more urgently’. For this formula for strong entreaties, see Briscoe 1981: 152 (35.6.4n.). See also 42.4.

13.5 *duci* ‘a guide’. Probably a primary Latin speaker, see 13.6n.

13.6 *sed <os> Punicum abhorrens ab <pronuntiatione> Latinorum nominum, <Casilinum> pro Casino dux ut acciperet fecit* ‘but because Carthaginian speech was repugnant to the pronunciation of Latin names, it made the guide hear Casilinum instead of Casinum’, i.e. Hannibal was unable to pronounce Latin place-names correctly, and this misled the guide. For *abhorreo* in this sense, see *OLD* 4 (contrast 18.1, where it is more like English ‘abhor’); and for the many textual problems, see Briscoe 2018: 57–8 (withdrawing the obelising in the OCT).

The strong site of ancient Casilinum goes by the modern name Capua, and ancient Capua, c.5 km. to the south, is S. Maria Capua Vetere. See *OCD*¹ under the ancient names.

This anecdote, which is not in Pol., has generally been rejected (‘worthless and confused’: *HCP* 427; ‘too picturesque to be true’: Frederiksen 1984: 238; ‘probably apocryphal’: Briscoe 2018: 57). Casinum (mod. Cassino) on the Latin Way is and always has been a strategically important site and centre of communications (Oakley 2005a: 340 on *Interamnā* <*Su*>*casinā* at 9.28.8), control of which would make it easy to get down to the Appian Way, the main route from Rome to south Italy, see *OCD*¹ ‘*via Appia*’. But it is too far north to be a plausible destination here, and even if Hannibal had cut the Latin Way, there remained the Appian (Frederiksen). The story may (Hoyos 2006: 641) have been invented to illustrate Hannibal’s cruelty in that the guide is flogged and crucified because of an error made by Hannibal himself; or to excuse Fabius’ temporising (Frederiksen); or it may simply be a made-up joke at Hannibal’s expense: foreign pronunciation is an easy source of humour (up-ended by Mark Twain on Leonardo in *The innocents abroad*: ‘they spell it Vinci and pronounce it Vinchy; foreigners always spell better than they pronounce’).

But it is interesting as possible evidence for a degree of knowledge of Punic by a primary Latin speaker, or at least for L.'s belief in the plausibility of such knowledge. See Adams 2003: 205–6 (who considers the alternative hypothesis that both Hannibal and the guide were native Punic speakers, but – as he says – the guide's role calls for knowledge of the region, and this surely means he was an Italian). The anecdote, for what it is worth, is not explicitly informative about Hannibal's command of Latin, but some of the exchange with the guide could have been in Latin. For bilingualism in Hannibal's army, including Hannibal himself, see Rochette 1997, who is sure that Hannibal was wholly ignorant of Latin (158). This is improbable for so intelligent a man, at least by the end of his decade and a half in Italy, some of it admittedly in the partly Greek-speaking south. The interpreters just before Zama (below) can be explained in other ways.

L. usually (cf. 6.3–4n.) ignores the language barrier when his Carthaginians speak (either to each other, like Maharbal to Hannibal at 51.4 and Hannibal's pep-talk at 21.43, or else to Romans, like the speaker at 21.18.3–12). It is more surprising to find interpreters mentioned, as at 30.30.1, Hannibal and Scipio before Zama, *cum singulis interpretibus* (following Pol. 15.6.3, ἔχοντες ἑρμηνεῖα). See also 7.26.1 (the Gaul speaks *per interpretem*) with Oakley's n. (1998: 238), citing Balsdon 1979: 137–45 (on interpreters in the Roman world); 27.43.5 (Hasdrubal's letter to Hannibal intercepted and read to Claudius Nero with the help of an interpreter); cf. also the anecdote at 10.4.9 (Etruscan Rusellae), with Adams 2003: 168. Interpreters must in fact have been everywhere in the ancient world: for an early epigraphic Greek attestation see *Syll.*³ 110, late fifth century BC, Rhodians honour an Aeginetan interpreter active at Naucratis. Historians mention them infrequently, but see Hdt. 2.125.6; Th. 8.85.2 with *CT*; Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.17, the younger Cyrus' interpreter Pigres; Pol. as above, and 3.44.5 and 5.83.7, Raphia (but 1.67.9 points the other way: interpreters said to be impractical in the multilingual Carthaginian army); and Caes. *BG* 1.19.3 with Adams 2003: 185, cf. 290; for Alexander's campaigns, Lewis 1997: 384. On the unusual mention of code-switching between Greek and Latin at L. 45.8.6 (Aemilius Paullus), see Adams 2003: 577 and Briscoe 2012a: 628–9. **auersusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Caiatinumque et Calenum agrum:** for all these places (Allifae, mod. Alife; Caiatia, mod. Caiazzo; and Cales, mod. Calvi), see *Barr.* map 44 F3, and for the text, Briscoe 2018: 58. The itinerary, as described by L., is not impossible. From Telesia Hannibal could move down the Volturnus valley, an easy route. Lazenby 1978: 69 objected that the three cities (as emended) all lay in different directions from Telesia, but L. does say 'the territory of ...'. That of Cales was particularly extensive (Frederiksen 1984: 41). **in campum Stellatem:** for this extremely

fertile area, north of and watered by the Volturnus (14.1n.), see *Barr.* map 44 F3. It was part of the *ager Falernus* (13.9 and n., 15.4), which the river separated from the *ager Campanus* in the sense of the territory of Capua. See Frederiksen 1984: 36.

13.7 ubi terrarum ‘where in the world’, a semi-colloquial expression (see *OLD* *ubi* 1). L. allows Hannibal an excellent command of Latin idiom.

13.8 mansurum ‘would pass the night’; see *OLD* *maneo* 2a.

13.9 in agrum Falernum: see 13.6n. on *in campum Stellatem*, and 14.1n. on *amoenissimus*... for Campanian fertility. It was (from 338 BC) fully incorporated in the Roman state, unlike Capua, which was a *civitas sine suffragio* (i.e. without a vote) apart from the Campanian cavalry (for whom see 13.2n.). See *OCD*⁴ ‘Falernus ager’.

13.10 ad aquas Sinuessanas: for coastal Sinuessa, see *Barr.* map 44 E3 and (for the mod. location at Torre S. Limato) Pagano 1990, followed by N. Purcell in *Barr. map by map Directory*. It was founded as a citizen colony in 296–295 BC, towards the end of the Samnite Wars, paired with Minturnae, by the praetor P. Sempronius Sophus, cos. 304. See 10.21.7–10; Beloch 1880: 52 and 1926: 382; *MRR* I 176; Frederiksen 1984: 39 (‘already in the second century BC it could be regarded as one of the most important cities of Italy’) with 50 n. 48, also 185 and 216. It was said to have originally been a Greek city Sinope, like the Milesian colony in the Black Sea region (*IACP*: no. 729): L. 10.21.8 and Plin. *NH* 3.59, with Beloch 1926: 533, and Oakley 1998: 511–12, n. on L. 8.11.11 (noting, as does Pagano 1990: 13, the absence of archaeological evidence before the third century). But Milesians were not active colonisers in the West.

13.11 iusto et moderato regebantur imperio: this is L.’s version of Pol. 3.90.14 on the ‘awe and respect, κατὰπληξιν καὶ καταξίωσιν, which the allies felt for the Roman state’, but L. emphasises respect rather than awe. For the advantages of justly conducted rule of the allies, see Oakley 1998: 537 (8.13.16nn. on *uoltis* ... and *id firmissimum* ...). Cf. 7.5n., and see Introduction section 2(c) and esp. n. 23 for the factors which kept the allies loyal to Rome, including fear, κατὰπληξίς, of reprisals after rebellion.

14.1 ut uero: repeated at 14.3, but there seems no particular point. **ad Volturnum flumen**: the Volturnus, which reached the sea at Volturnum, was the principal river of Campania (see *OCD*⁴). It is here mentioned for the first time in this decade, but see 10.20.6 with Oakley 2005b: 228. **amoenissimus Italiae ager**: L. has here much reduced Pol.’s chapter-long encomium (3.91) to the beauty and fertility of the area, a

kind of *laudes Campaniae*, including some mythical material. **Massici montis**: above Sinuessa; for the choice Massic wine see Hor. *Carm.* 3.21.5. Here and in much of the detail that follows, L. departs from Pol.; contrast the previous n. **prope de integro seditio** 'mutiny nearly flared up again'. Cf. 42.4, and 28.25.8 (*seditio* used of the serious mutiny in Scipio's army). Neither Greek nor Latin has a separate word for 'mutiny'; both languages use civil vocabulary for unrest (Greek στάσις, στασιάζω, ταραχή, and for *seditio* cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.16); see Hornblower 2007: 37.

14.3 ut uero: see 14.1 n. **sub oculis**: see *OLD* *oculus* 6, and cf. 14.4 n.

14.4–14 Minucius' Speech

This elaborate speech attacking the inertia of the dictator Fabius is implausibly rich in *exempla* (Chaplin 2000: 43–4). After the mention of Saguntum, they are deployed in correct chronological order. Dictatorship is one linking theme: M. Furius Camillus was supposedly dictator on five occasions in the thirty years 396–367 BC. Papirius Cursor was not dictator at the time of the episode mentioned in 14.12, but he had been in earlier years. For a brief analysis of the speech, see Ullmann 1927: 87–8. For the suggestion that Minucius misreads the idioms of pastoral poetry, especially when he compares Fabius to a dilatory shepherd (14.8), see Biggs 2016.

Pol. (3.90.6 and 92.4) merely notes briefly that Minucius and others criticised Fabius for inactivity; see above, introductory n. to 13–18. Plut. *Fab.* 5.5–8 is fuller than this, and reports some of Minucius' alleged sneering rhetoric, which, however differs from that in L.

For the characterisation of Minucius, see 12.11 n.

14.4 ad rem fruendam oculis: the offensive visibility of the outrage is again stressed by the insistent use of *oculi*, as at 12.6, 14.3 and 14.8 (*in oculis atque ora*). Cf. also *spectamus* at 14.7. **nec, si nullius alterius nos ne ciuium quidem horum pudet, quos ...?** 'If we feel shame before nobody else, do we not feel it even before those citizens, whom ...?' For *pudet* with gen. of the person before whom shame is felt, cf. 3.19.7; for *ne quidem* ('not even') see *OLD* *quidem* 6. **Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt**: see 13.10 n.

14.5 cunctatione et socordia: see 12.12 n.

14.6 pro 'alas!', 'Good God!' For the interjection, often followed by some word for a god or gods, see second '*pro*' entry in *OLD*. **degeneramus a patribus nostris**: for the motif, popular in writers of L.'s day, of Roman degeneration from ancestors, see Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.46–8. Sempronius uses

similar rhetoric at 21.53.5 (invocation of *patres nostri*). **dedecus ... imperii:** if Minucius here (like Hanno at 21.10.8) alludes to an agreement excluding the Carthaginians from Italy, its existence as a formal treaty is denied by Pol. at 3.26.1–4; see *HCP* 354 on ‘Philinus’ alleged treaty’.

14.7 qui modo Saguntum ... foedera et deos ciebamur: for the verb in the sense of ‘invoke’, ‘appeal to’, see *OLD* *cieo* 6b, and cf. 5.14.2, *non homines modo sed deos etiam exciebant*. Minucius may be presented as deliberately distorting the facts, or perhaps L. has mis-remembered his own narrative, according to which it was Hannibal’s opponent Hanno who at Carthage in 219 invoked the gods as overseers and witnesses of treaties, *per deos foederum arbitros ac testes* (21.10.3). The Roman ambassadors, dismissed by Hannibal unheard in Spain, had been given a hearing at Carthage (21.9.3–4 and 10.1), but L. does not report their speech, which may in fact have invoked the divine sanctity of treaties. This is one of the only two places in book 22 where L. refers to Saguntum (*Barr.* map 27 E2, mod. Sagunt/Sagunto), which played so important a role in the events leading to the war (Introduction section 2(a)). The other place is the Bostar narrative (22.3 and 6). **spectamus:** see 14.4n.

14.8 fumus ex incendiis: see 12.6n. **in oculos atque ora:** see 14.4n. **per aestiuos saltus:** sheep were sent by transhumance to the hills in the summer. See also 14.4–14n.

14.9 si hoc modo ... M. Furius: for this *exemplum*, the dictator Camillus’ defeat of the Gauls in 390 BC, see 5.43–55 with *MRRI* 95, listing other evidence. See also 14.12n. **nouus Camillus:** see *OLD* *nouus* 8(d); cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13.25, *noue Hannibal*, and L. 21.10.8, Hamilcar as *Mars alter* (sarcastic as here, rather than positive like Virg. *Ecl.* 4.34 *alter erit tum Tiphys* ...). Such usages may be modelled on Greek titles or designations such as ‘the new Dionysus/Isis/Homer/Themistocles’, etc.: *LSJ Supp.* νέος II.1; Nock 1972: 149 and Pelling on Plut. *Ant.* 54.9; see also (for καινός, ἄλλος and δεύτερος) Headlam on Herodas 4.57. **nobis dictator unicus:** the adjective is applied positively to Camillus himself in books 6 and 7, whereas here it is sarcastic (as at *Catullus* 29.12) and so negative; see Kraus 1994: 128 and Oakley 1997: 455, both on 6.6.17. **in rebus adfectis** ‘when our condition was weakened’, a medical metaphor. Cf. *adfecto corpore* at 8.3, and see *OLD* *affectus* 4a.

14.10 cunctantibus: 12.12n.

14.11 uir ac uere Romanus ‘a real man and a real Roman’. The alliteration can be caught in tr. by doubling ‘real’. For the expression, cf. 7.13.9

(*uiris ac Romanis*) with Oakley 1998: 163; see also 60.12 and for *uir* as 'a real man' see Briscoe 2012a: 519 (44.18.1n.). **qua nunc busta Gallica sunt** 'where the Gallic funeral pyres now are ...'. For these, see 5.48.3 with Ogilvie 1965: 737: a plague broke out among the Gauls, who buried their dead in a mass grave. For their location under the Aventine (rather than the Capitoline, as Ogilvie), see the Sullan-period inscription *ILLRP* 464 line 6 with Degraffi's comm.; Coarelli, *LTUR* I 203–4.

14.12 quid? for this exclamatory use, usually followed as here by a question, see *OLD quis* 10. **ad Furculas Caudinas ... L. Papirius Cursor:** in 320 BC, the year after the humiliation of the Caudine Forks in 321 (when a Roman army led by the two consuls surrendered to the Samnites and had to pass under the yoke), Papirius (52) Cursor and his consular colleague Publilius (6) Philo supposedly retrieved the disaster. See 9.1–16 (with Oakley 2005a: 34–5 rightly rejecting this victory) and *MRR* I 150–2. Papirius Cursor was dictator in 325 and again in 324 (*MRR* I 147–8), but not in 320, although in that year he was briefly Master of the Horse as well as consul. By a 'neat rhetorical trick' (Chaplin 2000: 44), Minucius turns both the Caudine Forks and Gallic sack, actually national humiliations, into positive *exempla*. **Luceriam:** mod. Lucera on the Samnium–Apulia border (*Barr.* map 44), home to a Latin colony since 315/14 BC. See *OCD*¹; also Dench 2003: 308 and Hornblower 2015: 257 and 400: the city claimed Trojan origins, Strabo 6.1.14.

14.13 modo C. Lutatio ...: as often, older exempla are backed up by a (somewhat) more recent one. The naval victory of C. Lutatius (4) Catulus at the Aegates Islands off the western end of Sicily ended the First Punic War. This was a quarter of a century ago, 241 BC, so 'recently', *modo*, is a stretch. See *Per.* 19; *MRR* I 218; and for Lutatius, cos. 242 BC, see *OCD*¹.

14.14 stultitia est sedendo ...: the gnomic expression, with its contemptuously alliterative sibilants, will be counterbalanced by the emphatically doubled *audendo atque agendo* soon after, which rhymes both internally and with *sedendo*. See n. there. *sedere* is an important theme of the book; cf. 39.15 and n. **arma capias oportet:** in his peroration, Minucius at last addresses Fabius directly, a very effective use of apostrophe. (That is, on the text here adopted; see app. and Briscoe 2018: 59.) **audendo atque agendo:** see first n. above; L.'s speeches often end with gnomic generalisations of this sort (Greek γνῶμαι; see Ar. *Rhet. Alex.* 1430a–b). See e.g. 39.22 and n., and on the present speech Ullmann 1927: 88. Scipio at Canusium (53.7) will similarly exclaim *audendum atque agendum*, just before swearing his famous oath with the drawn sword. It may seem surprising that the great destined leader of the war (*fatalis dux huiusce belli*, 53.6) should be

made to echo the strident and impetuous Minucius, of whose disloyalty the reader has been invited to disapprove (12.12); but it is conceivable that in book 22 L. already has his eye on the exchange of speeches about war policy between Fabius and Scipio at 28.40–4. Compare, in Th., the echoes of Pericles in the mouth of the violent demagogue Cleon, some of whose opinions might nevertheless have been endorsed by the author, and who is a partial model for Minucius: 12.11n. (But Plutarch paired Pericles with Fabius not Scipio, see 23.4n. Scipio was paired with Epaminondas, unless that Scipio was Aemilianus; those two *Parallel Lives* are lost.)

14.15 uelut contionanti: Minucius' speech is implicitly compared to that of a tribune at a *contio* (7.7–8n.) in the city. See also 15.5, *ferociter contionantem*. **dicta ferocia:** for the key word *ferox* and cognates, see 3.4n. **haud dubie:** this goes with *praelaturos* not *ferebant* (W–M); the hyperbaton (dislocated word order) is, as often, for emphasis.

15.1 pariter 'in equal measure' (rather than 'at the same time', although both meanings are possible here). Compare (with W–M) Sall. *Iug.* 88.2. **prius ... praestat** 'he first demonstrated a resolve which was not overcome by them' i.e. by his own men, *sui*. **probe scit** 'he knew very well'. **infamem suam cunctationem:** for *infamem* see 39.18n., citing Enn. 364–5 Sk (Fabius 'did not put *rumores* above safety'); for *cunctatio* (also an Ennian concept, 23.1n.) see 12.12n.

15.2 summa ope 'with every effort'. **praesentis ... copiae, non perpetuae:** that is, the current plenty was merely seasonal, not year-round. **arbusta ... fructibus:** all this is in apposition to *regio*. **uineaeque:** for the fame of Falernian wine (the *Falernus ager* is about to be named, 15.3), see e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.20.10–11. **magis amoenis:** there were more fruit-trees than cereal crops (Powe and Shipp).

15.3 per easdem ... rediturum: cf. Pol. 3.92.10 and 94.7. **Falernum agrum:** see 13.9n. and 15.2n. **Calliculam montem:** its precise location (which will be that of the cattle stratagem about to be narrated, cf. 16.5) is uncertain and disputed. The best candidate is probably the hill above Borgo S. Antonio and Pietravairano; see the map at HCP 428.

15.4–11 *Hostilius Mancinus Disobeys Orders and is Killed*

This episode, which is not in Pol., illustrates the folly of engaging Hannibal's forces, but is curiously ignored thereafter, although it would have made a good argument for Fabius' policy. There is some exaggeration (15.9n.), and the story, though not necessarily unhistorical, might

have grown in its elaborated form out of second-century bias against the unpopular family of the protagonist (15.4n.).

15.4 L. Hostilio Mancino: thought to have been father of Aulus, praetor 180, cos. 170 (so Münzer, *RE* nos. 19 and 16, and introductory stemma of the Hostilii; also Scullard 1973: 177 n. 2); cf. 45.25.2 with Briscoe 2012a: 682. Later members of this unlucky family were prominent in three controversial episodes of the second century, all of which were reported by L.: first, 40.37.4–7 with Briscoe 2008: 502–3, Quarta Hostilia (27), probably Aulus' aunt, convicted in 180 of poisoning her husband the consul C. Calpurnius Piso; second, *Per.* 51, another Lucius (20) and another example of supposed military recklessness, at Carthage in 146, with Astin 1967: 70–1 and nn.; and third, *Per.* 55, Gaius (18) at Numantia in 137, with *MRR* I 484. These would have been called to mind by ancient readers of L.'s notably full narrative of the present avoidable but minor defeat. The historian L. Calpurnius Piso (*FRHist* 9), consul of 133, is a possible source for non-Polybian material, and would have known the second and third members of the Hostilii Mancini family mentioned above. He was probably the grandson of the alleged victim of poisoning.

15.5 ex turba 'who was one of the crowd', i.e. understand 'being'. It is in apposition to *qui*. **ferociter contionantem:** this picks up both *contionanti* and *dicta ferocia* at 14.15, see nn. there. **Numidas <...> per occasionem:** there is a lacuna, probably after *Numidas*, containing, at least, a verb of seeing or attacking; see app. and Briscoe 2018: 59.

15.7 occursantes refugientesque 'advancing and fleeing': with these opposites cf. (with Adams forthcoming) Tac. *Hist.* 2.26.2, *fugientes occursantes*.

15.8 Carthalo: see 51.2n.

15.9 omni parte uirium: exaggerated, because he had with him only cavalry (W–M).

15.10 itaque ipse ...: like Hasdrubal at the Metaurus five books later (27.49.4, cf. Introduction section 4(b) n. 53), Hostilius gallops to certain death when he realises the position is hopeless. **prope inuiis callibus** 'by almost impassable paths'.

15.11 saltum: this is the pass *ad Lautulas*, where the Appian Way goes between cliffs and the sea: 7.39.7 with Oakley 1998: 370. **super Tarracinam:** the most southerly settlement of Latium, formerly Volscian Anxur, mod. Terracina, *Barr.* map 44 D3, at the point where the Appian

Way left the coast and headed for Rome. It received a citizen colony in 329 BC: 8.21.11, calling it Anxur, with Oakley's n. (1998: 620–1); *OCD*⁴ 'Tarracina'; and *HCP* 344 on Pol. 3.22.11. Minucius presumably left a force behind at Tarracina (so *HCP* 429). *Appiae limite* 'the line of the Appian Way', understand *uia*. For *limes* in this sense see *OLD* 4b, citing the present passage.

16.1 *quod uiae*: see 4.1n. on *quod agri*

16.2 *carptim* 'at different points'; see *OLD* (c): '(of skirmishing attacks) dispersedly'.

16.3 *ducenti ab Romanis* 'two hundred on the Roman side'.

16.4 *inclusus inde uideri Hannibal* 'Hannibal now seemed to be boxed in'; see 16.5n. (*uidere* in the OCT is a misprint). The sentence structure is somewhat jerky: a nominative participle here is followed at 16.5 by *nec Hannibalem* *uia* ... *obsessa*: abl. abs. *inter Formiana saxa ac Literni harenas stagnaque*: this describes the coastline between Minturnae, Sinuessa and Volturnum, *Barr.* map 44 EF 3–4. The later *uia Domitiana* (see *OCD*⁴) ran along it.

16.5 *nec Hannibalem fefellit*: the same words are used at 24.3. For Hannibal's sources of information see 28.1n. *suis se artibus peti*: cf. 21.34.1, and, for the converse relationship, 24.10, Hannibal adopts the *artes Fabi*, sitting and delaying. For the reminiscence of Sall. *Jug.* 48.1 (Jugurtha attacked *suis artibus* by Metellus), see Levene 2010: 230 n. 185. Cf. also Tac. *Ann.* 4.1, *isdem artibus uictus est* (Sejanus would eventually be outwitted by Tiberius). L.'s point here is that Hannibal feared being boxed in, as Flaminius had been – on a smaller geographical scale – at Trasimene. This becomes clearer in the next sentence, esp. *inclusum uallibus agmen*, which picks up *inclusus* at 16.4, whose application is however more general. *necubi* 'so that nowhere'. *iugum Calliculae*: for the (disputed) location see 15.3n. On the view there taken, Fabius' camp will have been close to a bend in the *uia Latina*, making it impossible for Hannibal to make a dash along that route.

16.6–17.7 *The Stratagem of the Oxen*

To sum up the discussion below, the famous stratagem of the 'Ochsentrück' (Seibert 1993a: 170) had two aims or at least results, assuming it really happened, as Pol. also believed, 3.93–4. It (1) fooled the Romans into thinking

the enemy force more numerous than it actually was, and (2) disconcerted and frightened them for long enough to allow Hannibal to escape *toto agmine* (17.7). Pol. (94.2) gives this double outcome in a nutshell: ‘the Romans were baffled by the lights [i.e. 2], imagining and expecting something greater and more formidable, δεινότερον, than the reality (i.e. 1)’.

To be sure, the detail of the story strains belief: it could have gone horribly wrong for Hannibal’s men (after all, elephants sometimes turned on their ‘own’ side, as at 21.56.1, and some of the cattle in the present passage were *indomiti*, ‘not broken in’, 16.7). There are, however, parallels in ancient literature. In some respects it resembles a familiar sort of stratagem, whereby the occupants of a besieged town contrive to give the impression of greater numbers of male combatants than the reality (for the illusion of human activity here, see 17.3, *hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat*, and 17.4, the Romans guarding the pass thought they were surrounded). Thus Aeneas Tacticus, mid fourth century BC, advised the disguising of women on the battlements as armed men, as he says was done at Sinope under siege by Datames (also mid fourth century): 40.4–5; for examples from Josephus, see Campbell 1987: 24. But such tricks rely on the opponent’s rationality; whereas Hannibal’s stated aim, and certainly part of his achievement, was to produce an irrational reaction by means of a terrifying, astonishing, quasi-miraculous and supernatural night-time spectacle: 16.6, *ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem* with n. there for the ‘prodigy’ language; 17.5 *ueluti flammam spirantium miraculo attoniti*, with n. there for the similarity to the mythical Jason’s fire-breathing bulls; and 17.6, where the eventual Roman realisation that this was a *humana fraus* implies an earlier belief that it was supernatural. (So also Front. *Strat.* 1.5.28, surely dependent on L.: the Romans at first thought it was a *prodigium*.) The closest model for this is earlier in Aen. Tact., closing a chapter about panics: ‘you yourself can alarm an enemy at night by giving your herds of heifers – and other draught-animals – wine to drink and then driving them with bells (μετὰ κωδώνων) on into the enemy camp’ (tr. Whitehead; the Loeb tr. has the cattle ‘wearing bells’, which would be closer to Hannibal’s trick): 27.14, with Whitehead 2003: 178: ‘every commentator [on Aen.] since Casaubon has been put in mind of Hannibal’s torch-bearing oxen in 217’. Both ploys were combined in one stratagem by a Spartan king Agis, at Polyæn. 1.46 (cited by Hunter and Handford 1927: 194 on Aen. 27.14, as above): he starved some cattle by tying up their mouths, then released them so that they made a lot of noise as they pranced around and ate grass and fodder (i.e. 1). At the same time he ordered the lighting of several times the usual number of fires, thus fooling the enemy into thinking reinforcements had arrived (i.e. 2). See also Paus. 7.26.2–3 and 11 (torches tied to goats).

Front. *Strat.* 2.4.17 (cited by W–M) is a different sort of stratagem, to do with the open clash of armies: the Spaniards went into battle against Hamilcar preceded by oxen tied to carts full of inflammable material. This produced consternation in the enemy line, which broke.

From all this, it seems that the weaponising of crazed cattle was indeed thinkable in antiquity, whatever doubts might be felt about the individual tricks recorded or recommended. The present story should on balance be believed (cf. *HCP* 429 ‘the story, though fantastic, appears to be true’). Conceivably Hannibal or one of his entourage had access to a copy of Aen., or remembered reading him; but for a warning against exaggerating the influence of military handbooks on actual behaviour of generals, see Campbell, as above. He is right, to the extent that Aen. probably wrote to entertain as much as to instruct.

16.6 ludibrium oculorum: for just this combination, see 24.44.8, where it is used to describe a prodigy. So this, too, is the language of prodigies, cf. introductory n. **ad frustrandum** ‘so as to deceive’ or ‘baffle’.

16.7 aridi sarmenti ‘of dry brushwood’.

16.8–17.3 There are four separate textual problems here; see Briscoe 2018: 60–1.

16.8 accensis cornibus: an exaggeration, because the twigs not the horns were alight (T–P). The repetition at 17.2 is effectively emphatic: ‘the blazing horns of the oxen are the principal element of the narrative, and L. naturally mentioned them at the first opportunity’ (Briscoe 2018: 60, defending the text). Similarly, Hdt. introduced the evidently well-loved story of Histiaeus and the ‘man with the tattooed head’ (ὁ ἐστιγμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν) before explaining how and why the slave came to be tattooed, with repetition of the key verb: 5.35.2–3.

There is a further aspect. Such repetitions (for another, see 18.1n. on *insidias esse ratus*, which matches Homer’s exact repetition, after an interval, of a phrase corresponding to L.’s Latin) are a feature of orally recited works, and both the tattooed slave and the flaming cattle are good candidates for enjoyable mini-units of recitation. On the frequency of public recitation of historical works in Greco-Roman antiquity, long after the arrival of widespread literacy, see Momigliano 1980; Wiseman 1987: 253–6 and Spawforth 2012: 62–5. **ab hoste:** i.e. the Romans. As often, L. has no problem about adopting a non-Roman focalisation. This is, after all, a kind of short indirect speech.

17.1 boues aliquanto ante signa acti ‘the cattle were driven some way ahead of the standards’ i.e. the human army.

17.2 accensis cornibus: see 16.8n.

17.3 repente discursu: Silius sought to explain why the cattle did not give the game away by mooing or bellowing: fire blocked their nostrils, *Pun.* 7.358–9.

17.4 in summis montibus: see next n. **qua minime densae ... inciderunt** ‘they headed for the tops of the ridges where the flames burned least densely, as being [*OLD uelut* 6] the safest route, but even so they fell in with some oxen who had wandered away from their herds’. *qua minime ...* depends on *iuga*. **uelut ... petentes:** parenthetical, but the participle does double duty: they *headed for* what they thought the safest route, so they *headed for* the tops of the ridges. But there is some illogicality, because L. has just said that the oxen and the flames were visible *in summis montibus*. Pol. (3.94.1) more simply and intelligibly says they went upwards when they saw the lights moving up to the heights, because they assumed it was Hannibal advancing.

17.5 ueluti flammās spirantium ‘as if breathing flames’. Just like the frightening mythical bulls used by Jason (with the help of Medea’s magic drugs) to plough a field from which sprang up the ‘Sown Men’: Pind. *P.* 4.225; Ap. Rh. 3.410, 1292 and 1327. But the comparison between fire-breathing bulls and burning twigs tied to the horns of cattle is forced, so this is literary embellishment (and see 16.8n. for the exaggeration in *accensis cornibus*). The panic-stricken Roman sentries are not likely to have been familiar with epinician odes or Hellenistic epic, but L. and his educated readership or audience could well have been, if only at one remove: L.’s older contemporary P. Terentius Varro of Atax wrote a close verse translation into Latin of the difficult Greek of Apollonius’ *Argonautica* (Courtney 1993: 235–53 and in *OCD*¹; see also Feeney 1991: 108 and Dueck 2012: 29), and Latin dramatists treated the Argonautic theme (for example, Ennius wrote two *Medea* tragedies, Jocelyn 1967: 113–23, 342–82, but their subject matter does not look relevant). Finally, Philip Hardie draws our attention to Virg. *Geo.* 2.140, *tauri spirantes naribus ignem*, which L. could also have had in mind. At 29.8, L. makes Minucius draw on Hesiod, but perhaps only *via* Cic. *Clu.* 84; see n. there. Or L. might have known about Jason’s bulls from an easy mythological handbook (see e.g. Apollod. 1.9.23, although that particular work was

probably later than L.). For ancient writers using such handbooks as short cuts, see Cameron 2004. It may be objected that the Argonautic legend was common knowledge among educated people, so that no specific source should be sought. But this detail is not as obvious or well-known as, for example, Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigeneia at the *includus portus* of Aulis (45.27.9 with Briscoe 2012a: 694–5, also 692 on the relation of this passage to the fragments of Pol. 30; and for *includus* as 'of ancient fame' see Murgia 1993: 99); or the murderous Lemnian women (Cato at 34.2.3). See Introduction n. 132.

17.6 ut humana apparuit fraus, tum uero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu ...: *tum uero* in L. often denotes a decisive point in the action (for *tum* alone see 29.1n.). The reaction here described seems illogical: once it was obvious that this was a 'human trick' and not a supernatural apparition (see introductory n. to 16.6–17.7), fear ought to have been less not more (*maiore*). But the men seem now, and not altogether rationally, to have taken the flaming animals as indicative of an impending ambush (*insidiae*). See also 18.1n. For *fraus* as an 'ambush' word see 28.6 and n. **incurrere:** cf. 28.15.3.

18.1 insidias esse ratus: the expression is repeated from 17.6 (for the significance of this, see 16.8n.). L. here follows Pol. 3.94.4, except that he suppresses Pol.'s direct and attributed quotation from Homer ('as the poet says, deeming it to be a trick, οἰσσάμενος δόλον εἶναι': *Od.* 10.232, repeated at 258, where the context is Circe's attempt to turn Odysseus' men into pigs). This is one of four places in the third decade where L. suppresses a Polybian quotation from an earlier writer, in a passage which otherwise follows Pol. closely: three are from Homer, one from Xen. It would have been alien to L.'s style to quote Greek writers for decoration. It may also be (so Levene 2010: 88–97 at 91) that L. and other Roman historians modelled themselves on epic, which naturally avoided direct source-citation (L.'s citation of Ennius at 30.26.10 is an exceptional tribute). Pol.'s Homeric allusion here – the most easily missed of the four – was pretentious and added nothing (but Levene (p. 95) suggests ingeniously that Hannibal, like Circe, was in a way turning animals into humans). **et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine** 'and disliking, in any case, to fight at night'. See 4.1–7.5n. for night-fighting, and, for *abhorreo* here, 13.6n.

18.3 ea adsuetior montibus: cf. 21.57.5: Hannibal's Celtiberian and Lusitanian (i.e. Spanish) troops covered any ground that was too difficult (*impeditiora*) for the Numidian cavalry. **campestrum hostem** 'an enemy used to level ground'.

18.5 loco alto ac munito: there were two fortified sites above Allifae, both almost certainly used in the Samnite Wars, Monte Cila (the largest), and Castello d'Alife. See Haller 1978: 60–6 and Oakley 1995: 49–51.

18.6 Romam se petere simulans: this looks like a piece of inferred motivation on the part of L. or his source, who is certainly not Pol. As given by L., Hannibal's weaving route is not easy to explain. Pol.'s different and more northerly route via *mons Tifernus*, part of the Apennines (3.100.2, calling it *Λίβυρνον ὄρος*, cf. *Barr.* map 44 F3) and then Bovianum should probably be preferred, cf. *HCP* 433 and Lazenby 1978: 71. **in Paelignos:** for the Paeligni, E. of the Marsi, see *Barr.* map 42 F4 and 44 E1 and *OCD*¹. Their main city was Corfinium, which became the Italic capital in the Social War of the early first century. Ovid was proud of being a Paelignian (*Am.* 3.15.8). **populabundus** 'engaged in ravaging'. This portentous verbal adjective is extremely rare outside L., who uses it fourteen times (cf. Pianezzola 1965: 99–100); but see Sisenna *FRHist* 26F115a–b (showing that it attracted the attention of lexicographers), with Briscoe's comm.

18.7 Gereonium: not firmly identified, but for the possible site, a few km. SW of Larinum, in the country of the Frentani, see *Barr.* map 45 A1. **urbem metu ... desertam:** contrast 23.9, *urbis captae*, perhaps from a different source. See n. there.

18.8 in Larinate agro: for Larinum, the location of the action described in Cic. *Clu.*, see *Barr.* map 44 G2. **inde sacrorum causa Romam reuocatus:** Pol. 3.94.9, perhaps more plausibly, has Fabius return a little earlier (probably to face criticism of his policy), while Hannibal was still in Samnium. **non imperio modo** 'not only in virtue of his *imperium*'. The dictator's constitutional superiority is not to be forgotten.

18.8–10 Fabius' Advice to Minucius

A little speech, albeit in *oratio obliqua*. Fabius is made to anticipate his own words to the senate at 25.12–15 and to Paullus at 39. Minucius should imitate Fabius, not trust fortune, and realise that avoidance of disaster is a gain: Rome needs breathing space.

18.9 plus consilio quam fortunae: for this usually opposed pair of concepts, cf. 23.2, *ratione non fortuna*; 25.14, Fabius' speech to the senate; 39.21, Fabius' advice to Paullus before Cannae (with Buijs 2019: 278, 284 and Table at 276); 41–42n. (citing Enn. *Ann.* 259 Sk); Levene 2010:

293 and n. 73, cf. 286 n. 59; on *fortuna* in book 22 cf. Oakley 1997: 581 (6.22.6–27.1n.), and for the cult of Fortuna see Miano 2018.

The importance of luck, Greek *τύχη*, in a general, as against other attributes and factors, was much discussed in antiquity (see Oakley 2005a: 199 (part of long n. on 9.17.1–19.17)). Luck was more usually opposed to *ἀρετή*, *uirtus*, ‘courage’, than to reason, *ratio* (as in e.g. Plut. *On the τύχη and ἀρετή of Alexander*); but see Diod. 17.38.4–5 on Alexander as commander, with Hornblower 1983: military *τύχη* contrasted with both *ἀρετή*, and *φρόνησις*, ‘wisdom’. At 12.10, however, there is no sharp opposition between the two, and at 29.2 Fabius comments that Hannibal is Minucius’ superior in both, *et uirtute et fortuna*. The question of military *fortuna* was particularly topical in L.’s lifetime, when both Pompey and Caesar could claim to be the ‘proven favourites of Fortuna’; see Weinstock 1971: 112–27 at 115, and esp. 114 n. 6, citing Cicero (*Man.* 47) on Pompey in the 60s BC: generals chosen for their good luck, *propter fortunam*, as well as for their bravery, *propter uirtutem* (Pompey later became a classic example of a less happy sort of *fortuna*). For Sulla *felix*, see Balsdon 1951; and Sallust thought Marius lucky (Syme 1964: 163). **ne nihil actum censeret ... per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque ...**: cf. the very similar 9.1.3 *ne nihil actum ... hac legatione censeatis, expiatum est*, with Oakley 1994: 175 and 2005a: 43 (n. on that passage), arguing that there is an ellipse of *dicere* in such expressions, that the punctuation after *hostis* here should be a comma not a semi-colon, and that the *ne* clause is one of purpose (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.97). With the punctuation here adopted, there is an indirect command.

See 39.17n. for *ludificati sint* as an echo of *ludificationem* here (and for the further repetitions of the *ludific-* root in book 27). On *medicos*, see 8.3–5n. on L.’s use of medical thought and language.

18.10 haud paruum ... uinci desisse: in his speech to the senate at 25.15, Fabius will similarly claim that to have preserved the army is more glorious than to have slaughtered large numbers of the enemy. **respirasse**: the ‘body politic’ conception is continued from 18.9. **nequiquam**: L. foregoes suspense and anticipates his own narrative at 29, when Fabius will rescue Minucius from the consequences of his rash folly. See Burck 1962: 88 for the prolepsis.

19–22 EVENTS IN SPAIN

The senate’s original hope, soon dashed, was that the war against Hannibal could be conducted entirely in Spain. After P. Cornelius Scipio, consul of 218, had failed to prevent Hannibal crossing the Rhone, he

sent most of his troops to Spain under the command of his brother. The aim was to keep the Carthaginian forces occupied so as to prevent reinforcements being sent to Hannibal in Italy. L. describes Cn. Scipio's initial campaign (218) in 21.60–1. On the war in Spain cf. Briscoe, *CAH* VIII 56–61; Richardson 1986: 31–61.

These events are narrated by Pol. 3.95–9; L.'s account, however, contains material not in Pol. and either derives from Coelius or represents a combination of Polybius and Coelius; cf. Levene 2010: 146–7, arguing that the placing of the Spanish narrative at the same point in both L. and Pol. constitutes evidence for the latter. See Introduction p. 12. Other sources are Sosylus *FGrH* 176F1, Frontin. 4.7.9, Zon. 9.1.1–3. In contrast to the preceding and following catastrophic defeats, at Trasimene and Cannae respectively, this brief Spanish interlude recounts a series of unbroken success, both military and diplomatic. See Introduction section 4 p. 13 n. 39 and p. 20 n. 55 for the function and importance of the present Spanish excursus in the structure both of book 22 and of the third decade as a whole.

19.1 principio ... gerebantur: L. thus indicates that the events he is about to relate overlap with the preceding narrative. Cf. 28.5.1, 36.37.1.

19.2–3 Hasdrubal ... tradit: at 21.22.4 (= Pol. 3.33.14) L. says that Hannibal gave Hasdrubal fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes and five triremes, of which thirty-two of the quinqueremes and all the triremes were manned. He now says that Hasdrubal added ten ships to those he had inherited and gave a total of forty to Himilco; Pol. 3.95.2 says that Hasdrubal equipped the thirty ships left to him by Hannibal and appointed Hamilcar as admiral. Either Pol. has rounded down the number of manned quinqueremes and ignored the triremes, or else Hasdrubal decided, for some reason, to replace two of the quinqueremes and all the triremes with ten new ships. Hamilcar and Himilco are often confused (cf. *HCP* 431); if L.'s source here is Pol., he may have made a mistake, but if he has taken the name from Coelius, who preserved what stood in the source he shared with Pol. (cf. *HCP* 430), the mistake may belong to the latter. Alternatively, the text of one or the other could be corrupt (Lutembacher proposed *Hamilcari* in L.). The probability, though, is that he is identical with the Hamilcar (9; *RE* VII 2308–9) who held a naval command off Sicily in 212 (Pol. 8.1.8; L. 24.35.3 again has *Himilco*), accompanied Hasdrubal to Italy in 207, remained in northern Italy after the battle of the Metaurus and was eventually captured in 197 when fighting with the Cenomani against Rome; cf. Briscoe 1973: 83 (31.10.2n.) and 115 (31.21.18n.).

19.3 Carthagine: Pol. 3.95.2 ‘from New Carthage’. Carthago Nova (mod. Cartagena; *Barr.* map 27 E4) was founded by Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, in 228. **exercitum ... occurrisset:** Pol. 3.95.3. **quacumque parte:** the army or the fleet. There was no other possibility, and W–M say that *utracumque* would have been more accurate: in fact the only occurrences of *utrumcumque* before Quintilian are two passages of Cicero’s correspondence.

19.4–5 Pol. 3.95.4–6, 8.

19.4 Cn. Scipio ... fuit: *Cn. Scipio* is the subject only of the *postquam* clause and *ei* has to be understood with the main clause. *Cn. Scipio* is placed first in contrast to *Hasdrubal* in 19.2; for the postponement of *postquam*, cf. 23.32.20. *idem consilii* is an instance of the common combination of the neuter singular of a pronoun with a partitive genitive; cf., e.g., 4.1 *quod agri*, 4.4 *id hostium*; K–St I 429–30.

Cn. Cornelius (345) Scipio Calvus, the uncle of Scipio Africanus, was consul in 222. In 218 his brother, P. Cornelius Scipio, consul in that year and Africanus’ father, sent him on to Spain after Hannibal had crossed the Rhone (21.32.3); his initial campaign is narrated at 21.60–1. **ingentem ... auxiliorum:** one expects the reinforcements rather than the rumour to be huge. But this is not merely a matter of a transferred epithet (thus W–M; cf. K–St I 221): L. wants to stress that the reinforcements had just arrived but to avoid having two adjectives with *auxiliorum* but none with *famam*; what is more, he may indeed have wanted to emphasise the extent of the rumours (modern broadcast media will talk of a ‘massive story’) rather than the size of the reinforcements (Pol. 3.95.5 has only ‘the size of the forces’). **delecto ... imposito** ‘having embarked soldiers chosen for naval service’. The syntax of the clause was correctly explained by W–M: *ad naues* goes with *delecto*, *imposito* being used absolutely. Valla, not realising this, altered *ad* to *in*; for Conway’s idea that *naues* resulted from corruption of a place name see app. **ire ... pergit:** L. combines *pergit* and *ire* on seventeen occasions, sometimes as *pergit ire*, sometimes separated by other words, with either *pergit* or *ire* preceding.

19.5 Tarracone: mod. Tarragona (*Barr.* map 25 G4). Scipio left a garrison there in 218 (21.61.4). **stationem** ‘anchorage’ (Foster); cf. *OLD* 3. **Hiberi amnis:** the Ebro, mentioned frequently in book 21, which played a major role in the arguments preceding the war (see Introduction section 2(a)): in 226 Hasdrubal (19.3n.) agreed to a treaty with Roman ambassadors, providing that Carthage would not cross the Ebro in arms; the Carthaginians later denied that they had ratified the treaty. See *CAH*

VIII 25–31 (Scullard) and 40–1 (Briscoe). The river rises c.40 km. north of Burgos and flows into the Mediterranean c.60 km. SW of Tarragona. See also 25.7 and n. **Massiliensium:** Rome had had friendly relations with Massilia (mod. Marseille; *Barr.* map 15 E3) since at least 390; cf. Briscoe 1981: 68 (34.9.1n.); Massilia naturally viewed Carthaginian expansion in Spain with alarm. Cf. 21.20.7. L. does not reproduce Pol. 3.95.7, talking of Massilia's subsequent services to Rome, particularly during the Hannibalic War. **speculatoriae** 'scouting vessels' (Foster), with ellipse of *naues* (for such ellipses cf. K–St II 550, 22.2 n.).

19.6 itaque ... uadit: Pol. 3.95.8 'he set off with urgency, wanting to fall on the enemy suddenly'. *uadere* often conveys the sense of rushing (cf. *OLD* a) and reflects Pol.'s κατὰ σπουδὴν. **offuso:** Walch, emending *effuse* in P. L. writes *terrorem offundere* at 10.5.7, 28.29.9, 39.15.4, while there is no parallel for *terrorem effundere*. See Oakley 2005b: 78 (10.5.7n.).

19.6 multas ... 12: having followed Pol. closely up to this point, L.'s narrative now diverges markedly from Pol. 3.96.1–4. At the beginning, Pol. says that news of the Roman attack was communicated to Hasdrubal from lookouts, while L. talks about the prevalence of towers in Spain and their use both as watch towers and for defence against pirates. Then, instead of L.'s long account in the rest of 19, portraying the outcome as due as much to the Carthaginians' panic as to the battle itself, Pol. says that it was due to the presence of the Carthaginian infantry on the shore, which rather than giving them confidence in fighting made them think that they would be safe whatever happened.

Levene (2010: 79–81) believes that L. has placed what he calls a 'slanted version' of Scipio's victory within the narrative of Fabius' dictatorship in order to reinforce his view that there are limits to the usefulness of Fabius' strategy and that sometimes aggression is successful. It may be replied (i) that Pol. (3.95.8) too says that Scipio wanted to make a sudden attack; (ii) that the details of L.'s account are not his own invention and may derive, via Coelius, from a contemporary source (for Coelius' sources see *FRHist* I 261); (iii) that the Fabian strategy was designed to deal with the series of disasters incurred by confronting Hannibal in open battle in Italy; there is no reason to think that Fabius would have disapproved of an aggressive strategy in Spain; (iv) that while a reader, ancient or modern, might draw Levene's conclusion from our passage, it does not follow that L. intended it to be so drawn.

19.6 multas et locis altis positae turres: when *multi* is coupled with another adjective or, as here, equivalent phrase, the two are frequently linked by a

coordinator; cf. K-St I 240-1. **habet ... utuntur**: Plin. *NH* 35.169 says that the towers still existed in his time, so that the present tenses are not clearly anachronistic. It is doubtful, however, whether L. knew this and it is probably another instance of his taking a present over from his source (cf. 9.8n.). **speculis et propugnaculis**: predicative ('use as ...').

19.7 ad mare et ad naues: the repetition of *ad* and the fact that elsewhere L. writes *mare ac naues* (ten instances) have caused needless concern; see app. **aperientibus** 'making visible'; cf. *OLD aperio* 11b.

19.8 cum repente ... iubet: as often, L. employs an inverse *cum* clause (i.e. the clause contains what one would expect to be in the main clause) to introduce a *peripeteia* (reversal of the situation); cf. Oakley 1997: 593-4 (6.34.4-5n.).

19.9 fugientium ... e terra: cf. 37.11.9 and, at greater length, 41.2.7-3.3.

19.10 cum alii ... euehuntur, alii: another inverse *cum* clause. For L.'s use of *alii ... alii* to enliven his narrative, cf. Oakley 1997: 137. **resolutis oris** 'cast off the hawsers'. For *ora* 'nautical cable', cf. 28.36.11, *OLD ora* 2, *TLL IX* 2.868.75-82; its etymology is uncertain. **in ancoras euehuntur** 'swung out on to their anchors' (Foster). The motion of the ships is applied to the soldiers themselves (cf. 21.50.1; similarly in English 'I flew to New York'). **ancoralia** 'anchor cables'; cf. 37.30.10, Briscoe 1981: 334 (37.30.10n.). **apparatu** 'equipment'.

19.11 turbati: P has *turbati et* and *et* is omitted by some later MSS (not recorded in the OCT apparatus). But *et* should be retained: for the combination of a conjunctive or disjunctive participle with an ablative absolute, cf. Briscoe 2012a: 103 (41.19.10n.). At 5.18.5, however, *meisque pro eo adiectis precibus* is dative, not an ablative absolute. **temptata uerius pugna quam inita** 'after a mere pretence at fighting', lit. 'after attempting a fight rather than actually embarking on one'; see *OLD ineo* 7a.

19.12 tam multis: L. writes *tam multi*, rather than *tot*, also at 6.17.5 and 42.41.4; Luchs' *tum* is both unnecessary and inappropriate (entry to the river was always virtually impossible for a broad and very numerous fleet). **duae ... suppressae**: Pol. 3.96.4 says that the Carthaginians lost two ships together with all their crew, the oars and marines of four others: the numbers are the only point of agreement with L.

20.1-3 Pol. 3.96.6. L. is more detailed, probably combining Coelius with Pol.

20.2 quae ... uadis: the two categories correspond, in inverse order, to those mentioned at 19.12 *alii uadis alii sicco litore excepti*. **quinque ... quadraginta:** for L. the fifteen ships not captured will comprise the four sunk (19.12) and eleven damaged or immobile; for Polybius (see 19.12n.), presumably, there were nine ships in the latter category.

20.4–21.8 Nothing in Pol. corresponds to this passage. For Pol. 3.96.8–10 see 11.6nn., for 11–14 see 31.1–7nn.

20.4 itaque ... facta: two brief clauses in asyndeton, with ellipse of the auxiliary. **Onussam:** the city is clearly identical with that mentioned at 21.22.5. Here P has *Onusam*, there the transmitted reading (P is not extant at that point) is *omissam*, an easy corruption. The only matter to be decided is whether the name should be spelt with one *s* or two; in favour of the latter is *omissam* at 21.22.5, and Briscoe printed it here for consistency. Nevertheless, if *Onusam* had been corrupted to *Omisam*, it was very likely to become *omissam*, and L. did not necessarily spell the name the same way in both places. For a fuller version of this note, see Briscoe 2018: 31. All that can be said about the city's location is that it lay between New Carthage and the Ebro (21.22.5). **cepissent captamque:** for the polyptoton (1.3n.), sometimes in asyndeton and particularly common with *capere*, see Wills 1996: 311–25; Briscoe 2008: 60 (38.13.4n.).

20.5 iniuncta 'attached to'; for *inaedificare* used in a similar sense, cf. Briscoe 2008: 365 (39.44.4n.); 2012a: 440 (43.16.4n.).

20.6 Longunticam ... congesta: *spartum* is Spanish broom, widely used for the rigging of ships; the plain where it grew was near New Carthage, which was known as *Carthago spartaria* (Plin. *NH* 31.94); see Strabo 3.4.9, p. 160C, Plin. *NH* 19.30. Longuntica is not otherwise known and its position at Barr. map 27D4 is arbitrary.

20.7–9 ibi urbe ... uenerunt: a brief (longer if P's *ubi* is retained, with a comma after *transmissum*; the repetition in a temporal sense is not impossible) but complex period. It begins with an ablative absolute (*ibi ... oppugnata*), containing a relative clause (*quae ... est*), followed by a temporal clause (*ubi ... animaduersum est*) and a *cum* (much delayed) clause (*ad populationem ... recepissent*), the subject of which is an understood *Romani*, on which *ad populationem agri uersi* depends; it contains an ablative absolute with two participles (*direptis ... uicis*). The main clause is *ex Baliaribus ... uenerunt*.

20.7 praelecta est ora: Madvig's emendation of *periectas oras* in P is virtually certain (see app.). *praelegere* 'skirt' occurs elsewhere in Classical

Latin only at Tac. *Agr.* 38.4, *Ann.* 2.79.1, 6.1.1 (it is a conjecture at Prop. 1.8.19). **Ebusum:** *Barr.* map 27 G2-3, mod. Ibiza. Ebusus and its smaller southerly neighbour, mod. Formentera, formed what the Greeks called the Pityussae islands; Plin. *NH* 3.76 says that in his time Ebusus was the name of both. **urbe:** mod. Ibiza city, in the SE of the island. **caput** 'capital'.

20.8 spem inritam 'a vain hope'. L. is fond of *inritus*, using it on thirty-nine occasions. **teri tempus:** a frequent alliterative coupling.

20.9 Baliaribus insulis: see 4.3n.

20.10 inde flexa ... prouinciae: i.e. they sailed back towards the mainland in a north-westerly direction. L.'s expression does not mean that he did not realise that Ebusus was well NE of Longuntica (thus W-M). **citeriora prouinciae, ... ultimae Hispaniae:** L.'s language reflects the Romans' subsequent division of Spain into two provinces, *citerior* and *ulterior*; cf. Briscoe 1973: 224 (32.28.11n.), with addendum at 345.

20.11 uere ... Romani: they were under Roman control, in contrast to those further away, who had sent ambassadors to Scipio but were under no threat from his army.

20.12 terrestribus ... fidens: Scipio had undertaken the naval expedition because he thought that his army would be outnumbered by the Carthaginians (19.4); the submission of the peoples north of the Ebro gave him confidence. **saltum Castulonensem:** *saltus* here means 'mountain range', not 'pass'; cf. *OLD saltus* 2c. Castulo (*Barr.* map 27B3; mod. Cazorla) was in the north of mod. Andalucia, near the source of the Baetis (mod. Guadalquivir). It is unbelievable that Scipio marched that far (and Pol. 3.97.5 says that the Romans did not cross the Ebro before the arrival of P. Scipio). Either the expedition is an annalistic invention or *Castulonensem* is an error by L. or his source, perhaps for *Pyrenaeum* (cf. 21.23.4, 30.5); L. mentions Castulo again at 24.41.7. Cf. De Sanctis 1968: 232 n. 62. **Lusitaniam:** L. is using the name to refer to SW Spain (mod. Portugal; 'Lusitano' in Spanish means 'Portuguese') as a whole. **Oceanum:** the Atlantic Ocean.

21.1 fuissetque per Poenum hostem 'and it would have been as far as the Carthaginian was concerned'; cf. *OLD per* 9a.

21.2 inquieta ... ingenia: cf. 2.4n. **in nouas res:** 'change' (Foster). **Mandonius Indibilisque ... fuerat:** these two Spanish leaders

exemplify what L. has just said about Spaniards as a whole. Mandonius does not appear again in books 21–25, Indibilis (Ἀνδοβάλης in Pol.) only at 25.34.6 for his part in the battle that led to the death of P. Scipio. Indibilis had been captured by Cn. Scipio in 218 (Pol. 3.76.6) but presumably released (cf. *HCP* 410). After the arrival of the future Scipio Africanus in Spain in 210, Mandonius and Indibilis defected to Rome, only to revolt and be pardoned twice; a third revolt, in 205, led to the death in battle of Indibilis and the execution of Mandonius. See Briscoe, *CAH* VIII 59–61; *HCP* II 308–12. The Ilergetes lived between mod. Lerida and Zaragoza (*Barr.* map 25 F4).

21.3 saltu: cf. 20.12n. **popularibus ... populandum:** *populari* is derived from *populus* (though the original meaning of the verb is unclear), but the polyptoton (1.3n.) is unlikely to be deliberate (and would not have offended Latin taste).

21.4 For full discussion of this passage, see Briscoe 2018: 61–2. Gronovius realised that *tribus militibus* in P is a corruption of *tribunus militum*; for the plural *missi* following a singular subject and *cum* (preposition), cf. 21.60.7; Briscoe 2012a: 222 (42.20.5n. on *exanimatos*); but Madvig's *tribuni* cannot be entirely excluded. *fudere mille hominibus* is an emendation (*hominibus* by Heerwagen, the rest by Madvig) of *fuderem omnis occisis quibusdam captisque* in P, corrected to *fudere omnibus . . . captis*.

21.6 Another inverse *cum*. **<I>lergauonensium:** this people lived near the coast, SW of Tarragona (*Barr.* map 25 E–F5); their city was Dertosa, later Hibera Iulia Ilercauonia (cf. Hübner, *RE* V 247). The name appears in various forms (*Illurg-* at Caes. *Ciu.* 1.60.2); L., or his source, may have assimilated it to that of the Ilergetes. Spanish place names often begin *Il-*; for another instance of *I-* being lost in transmission (see app.), cf. Briscoe 1981: 71 (34.10.1n.). **Nouam Classem:** not otherwise known. It is obviously on the coast and not, therefore, identical with the *ad Nouas* of *Itin. Ant.* 452.3.

21.7–8 The Celtiberi lived in the mountainous area NE of modern Madrid (*Barr.* map 25 B–C4); at 21.43.8 Hannibal is made to refer to his soldiers' campaigns in Celtiberia, and at 21.57.5 L. mentions Celtiberians serving under Hannibal in Italy; in 211 their desertion was largely responsible for the death of Cn. and P. Scipio and some subsequently fought on the Carthaginian side; cf. Briscoe 1981: 71 (34.10.1n.). There were frequent conflicts with them in the second century, particularly between 154 and 133. The passage contains four historic presents and one perfect (P

appears to have *pugnantes*, not *pugnant ac* or *pugnantae*, reported by Luchs and C-W respectively).

21.7 <miserant>: the Celtiberi did not give *legati* to the Romans, and *miserant* has clearly been omitted; it should be inserted here, since a scribe's eye could easily have moved from *-os* to *obs*.

22.1-3 Pol. 3.97.1-8; in 22.1 L. abbreviates but nothing in Pol. except 'joining his brother' (3.97.4) corresponds to 22.2-3; L. has probably taken this from Coelius.

22.1 P. Scipio: P. Cornelius (330) Scipio, the father of Africanus. Consul in 218, he plays a prominent role in book 21. Originally assigned Spain, he got no further than Massilia, returning to Italy after Hannibal had crossed the Rhone and sending his brother on to Spain (cf. 19.4n.). He fought at both the Ticinus, where he was wounded, and the Trebia. **prorogato post consulatum imperio**: from now on the *imperium* of consuls and praetors is regularly prolonged by the senate after their year of office, without, it seems, the need for reference to the people. The senate probably made this decision at the beginning of the consular year, but Publius did not leave until mid-summer (cf. Intro. p. 26). **triginta**: thus P. Pol. 3.97.2 says twenty (thus also two late MSS of L., a corruption rather than a conjecture). It is unclear whether L. made a mistake or *xx* became *xxx* (corruption of Roman numerals is frequent) in the course of transmission.

22.2 onerariarum: cf. 19.5n., *TLL* IX 2.629.79-630.11. **ciuium sociorumque**: citizens and allies in Gnaeus' army. **portum Tarraconis**: on Tarraco cf. 19.5n.; the city lacked a proper harbour, but the bay formed by the mouth of the river Tulcis (mod. Francoli) served the purpose; cf. Strabo 3.4.7, p. 159C; Schulten, *RE* IVA 2398.

22.4-21 *Abelux and the Spanish Hostages*

This episode is related by Pol. 3.97.6-99.9. L. is briefer, as often, and, partly for that reason but also because of the complexity of Abelux' ruse, his account, on first reading at least, is somewhat confusing; There is no reason to think that L. has used a source other than Pol. (*HCP* 432 implies that Pol. and L., as well as Zonaras 9.1.3, derive independently from a common source). Pol., followed by L., has probably exaggerated the significance of Abelux' action (*HCP*, as above).

The Abelux episode ('inserted substory' or 'subarc') is well analysed by Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 198–204 as an example of L.'s 'skills as a narrator' (but with no mention of Pol., or consideration of the skill displayed by his structurally similar and fuller account, see above). They detect and define the following stages: 22.6, 'abstract' i.e. anticipatory statement of a significant aspect of the ensuing narrative, not always taking the form of an actual summary; 22.6–7 'orientation' i.e. necessary background information; 22.8 and 9, 'complications'; 22.12–14 'peak' i.e. ultimate stage of tension building; 22.12–18, 'resolution'; 23.1 'coda' i.e. summarising bridge to time of narrating. They go on to apply this model to the larger Cannae narrative to come.

22.4 Hiberum transgrediuntur: cf. 20.12n. **Saguntum:** cf. 14.7n. **quod ... praesidio:** Pol. (3.98.1) mentions the hostages after the arrival of the Scipios, not as a reason for their going to Saguntum. See further 22.13n.

22.5 Nothing in Pol. corresponds to this. The peoples north of the Ebro were not deterred by such worries (cf. 20.11). **liberum:** genitive plural. Both *liberum* and *liberorum* are attested from early Latin onwards, the former more frequently.

22.6 uir unus ... Abelux erat: cf. 24.34.1–2 *unus homo ... Archimedes is erat* (apart from 30.26.9, where it is in *oratio obliqua*, the only occurrence in L. of Ennius' famous phrase, for which see 12.12n.). In both passages *erat*, as often, introduces the ecphrasis of a new character (cf. 22.4–21n. for this sentence as an 'abstract'); for the idiom, used also of places (the *est locus* formula), customs etc., see Briscoe 1973: 302 (33.28.11n.) and Oakley 1998: 239–40 (7.26.2n.). Such story-telling openings are often asyndetic as here and at 28.3, *tumulus erat*; see the many passages from L. listed by Briscoe and Oakley, as above. L.'s formulation may have been suggested by Pol. 3.98.2 ἦν δέ τις ἀνὴρ Ἰβηρ. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.152, ἐστὶ πόλις Ἐφύρη ..., or Th. 1.24.1, Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις The device is near-universal: the 'winter's tale' which gives Shakespeare's play its name begins 'There was a man ... dwelt by a churchyard' (Act II scene 1). *unus* contrasts with *omnium* above. Pol. gives the name as Abilux; L. may have taken Abelux (the name is corrupt in P both here and in 22.20, but the reading is not in doubt) from Coelius. **sollerti ... fideli:** for L.'s interest in ambiguous morality, cf. Oakley 1998: 91. **qualia ... fidem:** Pol. (3.98.3) says that the plan was typically Spanish and barbarian, L., as ever interested in innate characteristics (cf. 2.4n.), talks about Abelux' change of loyalties.

22.7 L. goes well beyond what Pol. says at 3.98.4. Cf. the Roman attitude to Dasius Altinius (24.45). **corpus:** in Greek a slave is often called a σῶμα. **emolumentum** 'advantage'. L. uses the word on twelve occasions, with a striking distribution of 5:6:0:1.

22.8 **potestatis eius ... facere** 'place under his control'. **animum adiecit** 'set his mind on'; cf. 25.37.18, *OLD adicio* 2b.

22.9 Bostaris: in view of this episode, it is unlikely that he is identical with the Bostar who was one of the ambassadors sent to Philip V by Hannibal in 215 (23.34.2); for other Carthaginians of the name, cf. Niese, *RE* III 789. Pol. (3.98.5) says that he had been sent by Hasdrubal to prevent the Romans from crossing the Ebro but lacked the courage to do so, retreating to Saguntum, where he camped in the part of the city near the sea. *praefecti* and *extra urbem* (22.10) do not indicate that L. wrongly thought that Bostar was the Carthaginian commander at Saguntum (thus W-M).

22.10 uelut ignorantem: Abelux stated the obvious.

22.11 For the contrast between control by force and through gratitude, cf. Oakley 1998: 537 (8.13.16n.). **cis Hiberum:** south of the Ebro, from the perspective of Saguntum; elsewhere (e.g. 21.5) the phrase means north of the river.

22.12 L. enlivens the narrative with this interruption by Bostar, followed by an *oratio recta* speech by Abelux; Pol. (3.98.6-10) gives Abelux a continuous speech in *oratio obliqua*. **quodnam ... esse** 'what gift could suddenly have so great an effect'. *subitum* is adverbial in sense but made to agree with *donum*.

22.13 et priuatim ... et publice: Pol. 3.98.9. The alliterative coupling (also at 49.10, 54.3), is, unsurprisingly, extremely common; cf. *TLL* X 2.1384.29-1385.52, for L. Packard 1968: III 1126. Here *parentibus ... populis* provides quadruple alliteration. **parentibus ... maximum nomen:** Pol. (3.98.1) says that the hostages were the sons of the leading citizens in those cities which he regarded as unreliable; L. (22.4) talks only of hostages from the whole of Spain.

22.14 uolt ... fidem: this replaces what Pol. says at 3.98.9. **habita fides ... fidem:** if the Carthaginians trust the Spaniards, the Spaniards will feel obliged to trust the Carthaginians. As often, L. uses *fides* in an

active sense: in Republican Latin, apart from the phrase *fidem facere* and a number of passages in Cicero's oratorical works, the word is always used passively ('trustworthiness'; cf. 22.16n.). See Fraenkel 1964: 17–18; *TLL* VI 1.686.58–687.44. For *fidem obligare* cf. 29.16.2, 30.12.18, Cic. *Phil.* 5.51. It is ironic for Abelux, who is deliberately deceiving Bostar, to talk about *fides*. **ministerium ... adiciam**: Pol. 3.98.8. L. uses *ministerium* on thirty-nine occasions, twenty-one of them in the first decade. **opera ... impensa** 'by devoting care to it'. **suapte**: L. writes *suapte natura* on seven occasions, *sua natura* never.

22.15–16 A period with two main verbs, each of Abelux' destination.

22.15 homini ... callido: Pol. 3.98.5 'of a guileless and mild disposition' (Paton). For L. Bostar is an untypical Carthaginian, an exception to his view of innate characteristics (22.6n.); cf. Levene 2010: 218. **nocte clam**: an *asyndeton bimembre*, cf. 24.6n. L. uses it on five occasions, *clam nocte* on at least six; for 9.16.8 see Oakley 2005a: 173–4; cf. Briscoe 1981: 177 (35.21.9n.). **Scipionem**: Pol. (3.99.2) says that Abelux met 'the generals' and (99.4) that Publius promised him a large reward. Perhaps we should read *Scipiones*.

22.16 fide accepta dataque: *fides* here means 'pledge of trustworthiness'; cf. 22.14n. For *accipere* and *dare* used of *fides*, cf. *accipe daque fidem* at both Enn. *Ann.* 32 Sk and Virg. *Aen.* 8.150; cf. also Sall. *Cat.* 44.3.

22.17 cum se nocte ... constituisset: he had agreed with Bostar that he would leave by night. *hostium* refers to the Romans, the enemy for both Bostar and, so he pretended, Abelux.

22.18 cetera ... obsidibus: the return of the hostages to their families. Pol. (3.99.3) says that Abelux told the Scipios that if the hostages were returned, the Spaniards would enthusiastically go over to Rome. **acta ... ageretur**: for a fuller discussion of this passage, see Briscoe 2018: 62. P has *acta per eundem ordine acta*. A corrector deleted the repeated *acta*, and *acta per eundem ordinem* (Γ) became the accepted reading. L., however, like Cicero, Sallust and Tacitus, always writes *ordine*, not *per ordinem*. Hence a variety of conjectures (see app.). This, however, is a case where L. could have expressed himself in a certain way even if it is unparalleled. *per* is used with a wide variety of nouns and there is no reason why *ordo* should not be one of them. L. means that Abelux carried out everything in the order in which it had been agreed with Bostar.

22.19-20 Pol. (3.99.6-7) puts these sentiments into the mouth of Abelux, addressing the Spanish communities, while L. describes the result of his actions.

22.19 in re pari 'in the same circumstances', because, as L. has just said, Abelux acted as an agent of Rome just as he would have done on behalf of Carthage. **quam quanta:** the relative following a comparative is normal in Latin (for *quam quantus* cf., e.g., 39.44.3), while in English 'it's further than what you'd think' is a vulgarity. **futura ... fuerat:** lit. 'had been going to be', i.e. would have been if Abelux had allowed the Carthaginians to return the hostages to their families. **graues superbos:** *asyndeton bimembre*, though Λ may have been right to add *-que*. **expertos:** the perfect participle of *experior* used passively; cf. 21.1.2, 44.6.13, *OLD* 5.

22.20 In the second century experience of Roman control led the Spaniards to take the same view of Rome as they had of Carthage in 217.

23-30 FABIVS AND MINVCIVS

The unpopularity of Fabius' policy of non-engagement, and a moderate military success achieved by the boastful and impulsive Master of the Horse, Minucius, cause the latter to be granted *imperium* equal to that of the dictator (L.), or (Pol., less likely) to his actual elevation to an anomalous co-dictatorship. But then Fabius rescues Minucius and his men from a near-disastrous ambush. So the contrite Minucius hails Fabius as 'father', they clasp hands and the original constitutional position is restored. The episode is to that extent self-contained, but the impression that Fabius has the upper hand is illusory, and the prominent mention of Terentius Varro (25.18 and n.) points menacingly forward to Cannae, the climax of the book.

See Pol. 3.103-5 (much briefer); also *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.80 (*ILS* 56, the Augustan *elogium* for Fabius), the relevant part of which (lines 9-15) gives in a nutshell much of the present section: *dictator magistro equitum Minucio, quouis populus imperium cum dictatoris imperio aequauerat, et exercitui profligato subuenit et eo nomine ab exercitu Minuciano pater appellatus est*, '[he was] dictator with Minucius as his Master of Horse, whose *imperium* the people had made equal with that of the dictator, and he helped his defeated army, and on that account was called "father" by the army of Minucius'. This inscription supports L. against Pol. on the constitutional point, and Minucius' army (not just its commander, as in L.) hailed Fabius as *pater*. The *elogium* may have some independent value as evidence (but see 31.11 n.). It was not simply copied from L., who does not here use the striking word *profligatus*; and see above for the behaviour of Minucius' army.

In the course of this episode, Fabius manages to turn general *invidia* for his *cunctatio* policy into praise, *laus*, by ignoring baseless kinds of *fama* in favour of the real thing, which is praised to the skies, even by Hannibal himself (30.7 and 10); so Hardie 2012: 260–1. Indeed the process is observable in miniature even within the narrative of 23: Fabius initially incurs *invidia* because Hannibal spares his lands, but turns this into the highest praise by gifting his lands to the people: 23.5n. on *in maximam laudem uerso*.

The brash younger man who apologises promptly and handsomely for his bad behaviour, and so melts the anger of his injured senior, is an old type: cf. Antilochus' penitent speech to Menelaus after cutting him up outrageously in the chariot race at the games for Patroclus (*Il.* 23.587–95). In L.'s own narrative, compare the relationship between the impetuous young L. Furius and the older Camillus, who has to rescue his colleague from his folly (6.22–5, 381 BC); see 12.11n. The earlier episode is probably modelled in essentials on the later, but for qualifications to this see Oakley 1997: 580–1. See also 3.24–9 (458 BC), Cincinnatus and Minucius. The latter name may have contributed to the insertion of the tale.

23.1 secunda aestate Punici belli: this is the first time that L. signals a war-year by its number, and one of only two places where he does not signal it at the turn of a year, as he does for seven out of the seventeen years of the war. The other such exception (28.16.14) also concerns Spain. See Introduction section 4 pp. 20–4. On both occasions, L. is using the transitional formula as a device for weaving his Spanish material into the rest of his narrative (Italian; African). **paulum interualli ... fecisset:** for *interuallum facere*, cf. 2.2.3. **sollers cunctatio Fabi** 'the clever delay of Fabius'. The approval is authorial and explicit. For the possible Ennian echo (*Ann.* 363 Sk), see Hardie 2012: 260, and for the *cunctatio* theme, see 12.12n. and Introduction section 8(e).

23.2 quae ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat: 'this [Fabius' policy of *cunctatio*] had Hannibal extremely worried'; lit. 'anxious with no small worry'. Cf. 28.25.8, *Scipionem ... sollicitum habebat res*. The word order here emphasises *non mediocri*. **ratione, non fortuna:** see 18.9n.

23.3 laeto uerius dixerim quam prospero euentu pugnatum fuerat: a remarkable prolepsis: it anticipates the contents of 24; the pluperfect *pugnatum fuerat* apparently implies that the doubtfully assessed battle has already been fought, which it has not. The narrative technique is

audacious in another respect also. L. here seems to assume that a pitched battle was fought, which will not be at all obvious from his eventual narrative handling; see introductory n. to 24. But the contrast between merely ‘joyful’ and positively ‘successful’ outcomes (*laeto/prospere*) hints at the distorting role of *fama*, a psychological force which will operate independently of the facts. With *laeto* cf. 25.1, *laeta ciuitate*. For *dixerim* (a potential perfect subjunctive, with a softening effect: ‘I would be inclined to say’), see Pinkster 2015: 490–3.

With the present passage cf. 38.11 (Paullus in indirect speech), making a link between *prosperare* and *consulto*.

23.4 duae res ad augendam inuidiam dictatoris: the first of these ploys, the selective sparing of the *ager dictatoris*, is an example of what Tacitus called a ‘well-known trick of generals’, *nota ars ducum*: *Hist.* 5.23, Petillius Cerealis leaves Civilis’ property untouched but ravages the rest of Batavian territory. See Campbell 1987: 24 and n. 68. Cf. the exiled Coriolanus, cf. 2.39.5–6. But the prototype is Th. 2.13.1, Pericles suspected that his hereditary guest-friend, king Archidamus of Sparta, would spare his lands, so he gave them to the people (Fabius eventually did much the same, 23.8n. and 25.7n.), so that Polyaeus (1.36.2) interestingly records it as a stratagem of Pericles, not Archidamus! Plutarch, whose parallel *Life* to the *Pericles* was the *Fabius*, cleverly picked up the two relevant passages of Th. and L.: *Per.* 33.3, *Fab.* 7.4. **ager dictatoris:** according to Val. Max. 4.8.1, it consisted of seven *iugera*, and was in the Pupinia, not a good agricultural area, Val. Max. 4.4.4. For the region, NE of Rome on the N. bank of the Anio, see Oakley 2005a: 541–2 (9.41.10n.).

23.5 in maximam laudem uerso: again (cf. 23.3n.), L. expresses a judgment on an action or event before narrating it; it is Fabius’ gesture to be described at 23.8 which will turn criticism into praise. See introductory n. to 23–30 for the pattern *inuidia* ignored, then *laus*.

23.6 primo Punico bello: the First Punic War of 264–241 BC. **conuen-erat inter duces:** this agreement is *SVT* no. 521. **ut quae pars plures reciperet quam daret ...:** exchanges of prisoners ‘man for man’, Greek ἀνὴρ ἀντ’ ἀνδρός, must often have been numerically unequal, but there is only one other attested example of a specific agreement about how to adjust the inequality: Androtion *FGrHist* 324F44 (408 BC), specifying one mina (100 drachmai) for each additional man. See Pritchett 1971–90: V 248, 250–1, 253 and 269. **argenti pondo bina et selibras** ‘two and a half pounds of silver’. Crawford (1974: 630 n. 3) suggests that the sum is the equivalent of 120 *quadrigati*; the latter are mentioned in connection

with the ransom of prisoners at 52.2 and 58.4 (see 52.2n.). *selibra* is a contraction of *semi* + *libra*. A Roman *libra* was about three-quarters of the pound avoirdupois; see *OCD*¹ ‘weights’.

23.7 saepe iactata in senatu re: this presumably exonerates Fabius.

23.8 Quinto filio: Fabius (103); tribune of the soldiers 216 (53.1, at Canusium after Cannae), praetor 214, cos. 213, after an election presided over by his father: 24.43.5. **fidemque publicam impendio privato exsoluit:** see 23.4n. So Fabius, like Pericles, solved the problem of his deliberately un-devastated land by in effect gifting it to the people (the actual proceeds of the sale went to Hannibal, but were used to ransom prisoners, so that Rome benefitted). Pericles did this in advance, on a mere suspicion that Archidamus might make invidious use of a personal relationship, whereas Fabius allowed the *invidia* to accrue before making his gesture and thus retrieving his *laus* (23.5 and n.). And Hannibal was not a friend of the Fabii or any other Roman *gens*. The narrative here is proleptic, inasmuch as Metilius’ speech can still refer to Fabius as making sure his own estates were intact – see 25.7, *agrum suum tutante* – unless Metilius is supposed to be disingenuous; see n. there.

23.9–24.14 *Minucius in Command*

This narrative is in two main parts: in the first (24.1–10, presented as fact and not attributed to any authority), Minucius unaided compels Hannibal to adopt a Fabian policy of non-engagement, by scoring small-scale successes against individual units of his opponent’s army; in the second (24.11–14, attributed to ‘some writers’, *quidam auctores*), there is a proper pitched battle (*iusta acies*, 24.11n.), in which the day is saved for the Romans by the semi-fortuitous arrival of the Samnite leader Numerius Decimius. The first version derives in detail from the fuller account of Pol. 3.101–2, except that the element of combat is greater in Pol.: see esp. 3.102.7–8, esp. παρεμβάλων, ‘drawing up in battle line’ in front of the camp, at 102.7. But this desperate defence by Hannibal of his camp hardly amounts to a *iusta acies*, so it goes too far to say (with Levene 2010: 299, following Vallet 1961: 186) that ‘in Polybius Hannibal does not avoid a pitched battle, but fights one, as in the second version offered by Livy’; this weakens Levene’s supposition that L. has reworked Pol. into separate accounts: the second version is surely derived from other sources altogether, and may (see below) be outright invention by either L. or those sources. But although the second or ‘pitched battle’ version is initially appended as a mere variant, an exaggerated form of it nevertheless

dominates the narrative as a whole, even as early as 23.3 by a daring anticipation (see n. there); see also 24.14 (esp. *uana fama*), and 25.9, from Metilius' speech, *fudisse ac fugasse hostes*. See Vallet 1961 (L.'s handling biased against Minucius) and Levene 2010: 298–301, cf. 296–8 on L.'s comparable treatment of Scipio's victory at the battle of Silpia (28.12.13–14), where again L. seems to have it both ways. In the present passage, Numerius Decimius anticipates the role of Fabius at 29 by rescuing Minucius from a tight spot (W–M note the parallel, and it has even been conjectured that the two battles are doublets, a theory rightly rejected by Vallet 1961: 184). At Rome, the praenomen Numerius was confined to the Fabian family, allegedly because of early links with Samnium (Münzer 1920: 71 and Ogilvie 1965: 597–8 (4.43.1n.)). For Oscan names with both *praenomen* and *nomen* ending in *-ius*, cf. 23.2.2, Pacuvius Calavius; 23.8.1, Sthenius Ninnius and Pacuvius Ninnius. Indeed, Fabius himself is presented as indirectly responsible for the victory, because Decimius and his troops are said to have been on their way to the Roman camp 'by order of the dictator' (24.12). So the saving role of Numerius Decimius may be a Fabian fiction or exaggeration (but Salmon 1967: 297–8 regards its historicity as certain, and explains Pol.'s silence as due to his general unwillingness to recognise the Italian contribution to Roman war efforts). The whole narrative of 24 and its sequel serves to illustrate the power of *fama*, even when it is *uana*: see introductory n. to 23–30.

23.9 cuius urbis captae atque incensae ... tecta: this agrees with Pol. 3.100.4, but (unless *capere* here means merely 'take possession of') there is an inconsistency with 18.7, according to which Gereonium had already been deserted by its inhabitants because the walls were in disrepair. L. has either changed sources (W–M), or else his work on the intervening Spanish episode has caused a mild memory lapse. **in statuiis erat:** this denotes a more permanent sort of camp, see Briscoe 1981: 65 (34.8.4–21n.); and in fact Hannibal based himself here for the winter (cf. 32.4). See further 39.16n. (Fabius to Paullus).

23.10 duas exercitus partes mittebat: the imperfect is important: he was in the habit of sending out two-thirds to forage; but he reversed the proportions later, see 24.4n.

24.1 sicut ante dictum est: that is, at 18.8–10. Cross-references in Latin prose are often of this simple type, and forms of the verb *dico* predominate: Starr 1981, and cf., e.g., 28.8. The practice, and the preference for a limited vocabulary, was taken over from the Greek historians (not discussed by Starr); see e.g. Hdt. 5.35.3 and 36.4, Th. 5.1 and Pol. 4.84.2

(cf. also 18.28.1, explicit back-reference to his book 6 by number; and he uses ὁ προειρημένος, ‘the aforesaid’, 223 times in books 1–5, Ziegler, *RE* XXI 1571; and see e.g. 3.100.1 ‘we left Hannibal in Italy’, a back-ref. to 3.94.7). As Starr notes, there was a tendency to give the basic fact anyway – as L. does here – so that there was no actual need to wind back the papyrus roll: part of the motive was to assert authorial control over material. But the frequency of words for ‘saying’ (in both Greek and Latin texts) is a reminder that oral recitation still persisted; see 16.8n. on *accensis* See also 61.4n. for subtler cross-referencing by means of similarity or even identity of phrasing.

24.2 pro ingenio ducis: ‘in keeping with the general’s character’. See *OLD* *pro* 16b, and cf. 26.8.1, *pro cuiusque ingenio*.

24.3 nec Hannibalem fefellit: same phrase at 16.5, and see 28.1n. on how Hannibal knew about developments on the Roman side. **belli rationem:** see 23.2n. **ferocius quam consultius:** see 3.4n. (on *ferox*) and 38.11, *consulto*, cf. 23.3n.

24.4 quod minime quis crederet: L. means that it was surprising that Hannibal should have allowed even a third of his forces to go out foraging, given the extreme likelihood of an attack in the new circumstances created by a more aggressive Roman commander. But in fact Hannibal now, as part of his stratagem, cautiously reversed the proportions, because at 23.10 he had been in the habit of sending out two-thirds: see n. there and W–M here.

L.’s expression here almost amounts to an apostrophe – ‘you would hardly believe it, but ...’ and so is comparable to *dixerim* at 23.3, a direct address to the reader or hearer, inviting complicity, and see 7.12n. on *cerneres*. But he does not use the second person and say *crederes* (as he does at e.g. 46.4); this may be partly because L. is really describing how the situation looked not to us, the readers, but to Minucius. For a similar authorial third-person formulation, cf. Th. 5.20.2, σκοπεῖτω δέ τις

24.6 ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur ... nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt ...: ‘but because, if they were to try to [lit. ‘if there should be a proceeding to’] capture the place openly in daylight, the enemy – who were a shorter distance away – would undoubtedly get there first, he sent some Numidians secretly by night and they captured it [lit. ‘some Numidians who were sent ... captured it’].’ *iretur* is impersonal, see *OLD* *eo* 14b, citing 7.12.14, *ut ... ad dictatorem iretur*. A complicated and difficult sentence, combining a presumed and hypothetically expressed motive of Hannibal,

in partial indirect speech, with a piece of factual reportage. In the first part, the conditional clause is subordinate to the explanatory clause (*quia ...*), but precedes it. The indicative (*praeuenturus erat*) is regular with the periphrastic future in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional; see K–St II 402–3. As for the statement of fact at the end, it would have been easier if L. had written *Numidas misit qui ...*, but that would have introduced a singular human subject different from *hostis* just before, and L. perhaps did not want to be obliged clumsily to specify Hannibal by name. In each of the balancing, rhyming and asyndetical expressions *luce palam* and *nocte clam*, the second half is strictly redundant; but the elaboration is an aid to understanding, because it underlines the connection between the hypothetical and the factual elements of the sentence. On such *asyndeta bimembra*, see Nisbet 1961: 86 on Cic. *Pis.* 23, and Adams forthcoming. The combination *luce* and *palam* is found here only in L.; for the commoner *nocte clam*, see 22.15n. For the combination *palam* and *clam*, see Enn. *Ann.* 277 Sk *clamque palamque*.

24.8 †tum ut itaque† exiguum ... aberat ‘there was a very small space between the ramparts’. The textual problem is insoluble (Briscoe 2018: 63), but the intended meaning is not in doubt. **per auersa castra** ‘through the back of the camp’ i.e. the Roman camp; on the text and its meaning here, see app. and Briscoe 2018: 63–4.

24.10 iamque artibus Fabi ... sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat: see 16.5n. and (for the textual problem posed by the words here omitted) Briscoe 2018: 64. Cf. also 32.1, *Fabi artibus* and 34.7, *Fabianis artibus*. The comparison is pointed: if Hannibal sees virtue in being like Fabius, so should Minucius.

24.11 iusta quoque acie ‘in a pitched battle’. See *OLD* *iustus* 7b. **quidam auctores sunt:** see introductory n. to 23.9–24.14. L. almost certainly refers to sources other than Pol. **fusum:** all these participles (with ellipse of *esse*), down to *perlatam* in 24.14, depend on *quidam ...* (above).

24.11–12 For Numerius Decimius’ wealth and political power, see Salmon 1967: 83, also 54 for the name Decimius, a kind of patronymic formed from the praenomen Decimus. On his praenomen Numerius, see introductory n. to 23.9–24.14.

24.12 non Bouiani modo: see *Barr.* map 44 F3 (mod. Boiano). It is probably *Bouianum Undecumanorum*, capital of the Pentri Samnites (see *OCD*¹) rather than *B. uetus*, another Samnite settlement, although it has been doubted whether they were two separate places. In 212, it was the site

of the main Roman camp, 25.13.8. **iussu dictatoris:** see introductory n. to 24. **equites ad <quingentos>:** the numeral (which was probably written as *d*) has dropped out and must be restored; see Briscoe 2018: 64.

24.14 in tam pari prope clade ‘although the losses were so nearly equal’ **famam <uanam> ... uanioribus litteris:** the polyptoton (1.3n.), the result of a necessary insertion in the text, emphasises the emptiness, *uanitas*, both of the rumour and of Minucius’ boasts; see Hardie 2012: 260, and for the repetition of an adj. and its comparative, see Oakley 1997: 494 (6.11.1n. on *graue ... grauior* (‘a very characteristic Livian idiom’)).

By using *oratio obliqua* (thus indicating that this stood in the *auctores*), L. leaves it open whether Minucius’ letter claimed the very partial success narrated in the first version of this episode (see introductory n. to 24, citing Levene), or the greater but less securely attested success achieved, albeit with Decimius’ help, in the second version. The close juxtaposition to the remark about parity of casualties suggests he had in mind the second version, from which however he had (by implication) withheld credit at 24.11. But the explicit statement (25.2) that Fabius, like L., withheld belief from both rumour and letter suits the first version better, especially since the success reported in the second version owed something to Fabius’ own prudent summoning of a powerful Samnite ally.

25–26 *Minucius’ Imperium Made Equal to that of Fabius*

25.2 cum ... dictator unus nihil nec famae nec litteris crederet: Fabius is not named, but denominated as *dictator*, a reminder of the over-riding authority which he still possesses for the moment. And *unus* may also hint at this, although its surface function here is merely to indicate that his incredulity is not shared by anyone – as if L. or his source could have known this negative ‘fact’! (*unus* may also recall the famous Ennian *unus homo ...* about Fabius, 12.12n.; but it was a very common word). Since L. here returns to *oratio recta*, he means to convey that Fabius’ doubt related merely to the ‘empty claims of overwhelming success’, not to whether there was a pitched battle at all (Levene 2010: 299). See 24.14n.

Later manuscripts added *et* after *crederet*, implying a simple haplography of *et*: but for such clausal asyndeton C–W rightly compared 14.4, 21.10.7, 23.33.10. Translate ‘saying that’.

laeta ciuitate: see 23.3n.

25.3–11 *Speech of Metilius.* This is no less of a speech for being related in ‘reported’ mode, *oratio obliqua*. For indirect speech, and the possible reasons why an author might adopt it, see 40.1–3n. For the most part,

the present speech elaborates the opening claim that Fabius' behaviour is obstructive and self-motivated: he is deliberately (*sedulo*, 25.4n.) wasting time so as to prolong his own sole command (the preoccupations of the other senior magistrates are enumerated, 25.5–6). Large parts of Italy have been left to the depredations of the enemy (25.7). Fabius' absence has liberated Minucius and his men from virtual imprisonment (*custodia*), making possible the rout of Hannibal's army (25.6 and 9). All this leads up to the proposal that Minucius be granted *imperium* equal to that of the dictator; this measure, which was actually an extreme step without parallel, is artfully presented as a 'moderate' alternative (*modica rogatio*) to outright abrogation of Fabius' command. Meanwhile Fabius must hold an election for a consular replacement to Flaminius (25.10–11).

25.3 M. Metilius tribunus plebis: Metilius (9) was probably responsible as tribune for a *lex de fullonibus* (launderers) in 220 BC: *MRR* I 235–6 and 244 (the iteration of the tribunate is most unusual). For the present episode, see Introduction p. 77. In 212 he will be sent on a mission to the consuls after the defeat by Hannibal of the praetor Cn. Fulvius Flaccus, 25.22.2 with *MRR* I 270, cf. 268.

25.4 sedulo 'carefully' i.e. 'deliberately'; cf. 2.58.7, *tardius sedulo incedere*, and the similar 3.46.7.

25.5 alterum ... ablegatum: this is the consul Servilius; see 11.7.

25.6 duos praetores: for the four praetors of the year, see 7.14n. These two are T. Otacilius (12) Crassus (10.10; 31.6 and n.) and A. Cornelius (257) Mammula (cf. 23.21.4, and for a retrospective mention of him as having vowed the *uer sacrum* of 9–10, see 33.44.1–2). See 10.2n. and *MRR* I 244. **prope in custodia habitum:** see 44.6n.

25.7 hercule: although the speech as a whole is surely invented, the lively oath by Heracles is made to 'survive' in *oratio obliqua*. **tamquam trans Hiberum ...:** for the treaty (225 BC) which made the river Ebro the frontier between the Carthaginian and Roman spheres in Spain, see 21.2.7 and 19.5n.; also Introduction section 2(b). **Calenumque et Falernum ... Casilini:** for both Cales and Casilinum see 13.6n., and for the *Falernus ager* 13.9n. **agrum suum tutante:** see 23.8n.: Metilius is represented as pretending to be unaware that Fabius has divested himself of the value of his estate (it is less likely that Fabius has not yet done so). The reader knows what Fabius has done and can therefore see the tendentiousness of Metilius' accusation.

25.10 si antiquus ... nunc ...: for this counterfactual rhetorical device, often found at the start of speeches, see 39.1n. **de abrogando ... imperio:** this threat was empty, because (in the fifth and fourth centuries at least, see below) the people did not have the power to abrogate the *imperium* of a dictator; and abrogation of any magistracy, as opposed to abrogation of proconsular *imperium*, is very rare indeed: Mommsen 1887–8: I 629–30 and 630 n. 1. It is part of Metilius' rhetoric: see previous n. Perhaps Metilius is represented as implying that the plebs should assert themselves as in days gone by, the Struggle or Conflict of the Orders (for which see *OCD*¹ 'plebs'). Or perhaps Metilius is suggesting that a distinction be made between the older rules (above), and the new and unusual situation described at 8.6, *populus creuit*: if the people could create a magistracy in this way, they could abrogate it. **de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure:** this astonishing and unprecedented proposal was carried, as L. will now relate at length. This is one of the most important divergences between L. and Pol., who says (3.103.4) that Minucius was actually made dictator alongside Fabius, rather than (as L.) merely receiving a grant of *imperium* equal to his. It is usually accepted (but see Mommsen 1887–8: II 177 on 'co-dictatorship') that L. was right and Pol. wrong. An inscription which seemed to point the other way (*CIL* 1² 2.607, *ILS* 11, *ILLRP* 118), a dedication to Hercules by a Minucius as dictator, has been plausibly explained away as dating from 220 BC (Dorey 1955, citing Plut. *Marc.* 5.4). Another inscription, the Augustan *elogium* of Fabius, agrees with L.: see introductory n. to 23–30; and as Mommsen conceded (above), the *Fasti*, or inscribed lists of eponymous magistrates, do not mention a dictatorship of Minucius in 217 (Degrassi 1954: 60–1 and *Inscr. Ital.* XIII).

The purpose of the equalising of the *imperium* may have been to stop Fabius using his powers of *coercitio* (physical coercion) to punish Minucius for disobedience; cf. 25.13 and Plut. *Fab.* 9.1. So Dorey 1955: 94; as he says, the new measure was hardly likely to make for greater military efficiency.

25.11 nec tamen ne ita quidem 'but even so, they should not ...'.

25.12–15 Fabius' speech to the senate. Fabius' speech, like that of Metilius, is given in reported mode. He begins by praising Hannibal and ascribing the recent disasters to the rashness and ignorance of the Roman commanders; he promises that if continued in sole command, he himself will prove the worth of *ratio* rather than reliance on *fortuna*. 25.15 is in effect a maxim or generalisation (see 14.14n. on *audendo* ...): in a crisis, it is more glorious to save an army than to kill thousands of the enemy.

25.12 in actione minime populari ‘in a very unpopular cause’. That is, he declined to defend his policy (*OLD actio* 3) in a *contio* before the people. The transmitted reading *popularis* makes Fabius himself unpopular, but this would entail taking *in actione* as equivalent to *in agendo* (so W–M and Vallet), and that is awkward. **satis aequis auribus** ‘with very sympathetic ears’. See *OLD aequus* 7a, and cf. Cic. *fam.* 7.33 (SB 192) 2, *meis aequissimis ... auribus*. **hostem uerbis extolleret**: a eulogy of Hannibal was not tactful in the circumstances, but a theme of these chapters is Fabius’ refusal to acquire *fama* in conventional ways. **biennique clades**: Trebia and perhaps also Ticinus in 218 (see 31.10n.) and Trasimene in 217. **clades per temeritatem ... ducum acceptas referret** ‘put the disasters down to the rashness ... of the generals’. The last two words are a metaphor from financial accounting (cf. T–P): *referre pecuniam acceptam* means ‘to enter money as received’, see *OLD refero* 8c, and cf. Briscoe 2019: 107 on Val. Max. 8.2.2. This is preferable to taking *referret* to mean ‘mentioned’ (‘erwähnte’, W–M) i.e. ‘described’. For *temeritas* see 3.4n.

25.13 quod contra dictum suum pugnasset: the immediate grounds of the clash between the two men recall the dispute between Papirius Cursor as dictator and Fabius Rullianus as his Master of the Horse in 325 BC: 8.30–6 with Oakley 1998: 704–7; *MRR I* 147–8. For the threat here made, see 25.10n. on *de aequando*

25.14 si penes se summa ... sit: the meaning is ‘if you allow me to retain sole command’, but the proud and inflexible Fabius will not use the language of pleading, so he says ‘if I am in full control’. **haud magni fortunam ... mentem rationemque dominari**: for the opposition between *fortuna* and *ratio*, see 18.9n.

25.15 in tempore ‘at the right time’; cf. 38.12.6 (*haud in tempore*, with Briscoe 2008: 58), and see *OLD tempus* 8d. **seruasse exercitum**: the thought here resembles Fabius’ parting advice to Minucius at 18.10, *uinci desisse*. See n. there.

25.16 consule creato M. Atilio Regulo: see Pol. 3.106.2. *creato* means that he was elected, not that he was appointed by Fabius; see Introduction section 9 p. 79. Atilius (52) Regulus had been consul in 227. The record of the Atilii against Carthage (below) may have been a factor in the election of Atilius (cf. 26.18, the appointment of young Scipio to the command in Spain after the deaths there of his father and uncle, and Th. 3.7.1, the Acarnanians ask the Athenians for ‘a son or relative’ of the great Phormio as commander). Scullard (1973: 48), believing that Atilius had

been nominated by Fabius, thought that it helps to explain the raising of Minucius' *imperium* to equal that of Fabius. Atilius' consular command was prorogued (continued) for 216 (34.1). Pol. (3.114.6 and 116.11 where he is called 'Marcus', and cf. 3.109.1) says he co-commanded the centre at Cannae and died in the battle, but this is a mistake – perhaps a confusion with M(arcus) Minucius – because Livy says he returned to Rome, pleading old age, before the battle (40.6), and was censor in 214 (24.11.6). See *MRR* I 242, 250, 259, and cf. Scullard 1973: 53 n. 1. (The tendency of Greek authors at this period to refer to Romans by a *nomen nudum*, i.e. usually praenomen alone, may help to explain Pol.'s mistake; see Rizakis 2019: 225 n. 8, and Balzat 2019.) His homonymous father, the hero of the First Punic War, had likewise been suffect consul, and then – also likewise – had his *imperium* prorogued for the next year (*MRR* I 209, under 256 and 255). **nocte ad exercitum abiit**: a dramatic and symbolic touch: Fabius departs under a cloud, or rather cover of darkness. For parallels, see Oakley 2005a: 102 n. 1 (9.6.7n.).

25.17 auctoritas: see 25.18n.

25.18 unus inuentus est suasor legis ...: this detail is not in Pol.'s admittedly briefer account. It was a masterstroke by L., at this comparatively early stage of the book 22 narrative, to introduce and spotlight C. Terentius (83) Varro, the headstrong consul responsible for Republican Rome's worst ever defeat. Cannae is thus ominously prepared for, well in advance. Opinion was sharply divided on the best policy to pursue against Hannibal, and it is unlikely that absolutely nobody except Varro could be found to urge the clipping of the dictator's wings (which is not to say that he did not in fact make or at least support the proposal). As at 25.2, where the little word *unus* was applied to Fabius himself, it evokes Ennius on the *Cunctator* (see n. there), but it does so here by contrast, not by reinforcement.

A *suasor* advocated a law or proposal; cf. *suasio* at Cic. *Clu.* 140. The *auctor* was the mover or proposer, a process perhaps hinted at by *auctoritas* at 25.17.

The snobbish and implausible material which follows, about Varro's humble origins and trade connections (also absent from Pol., possibly derived from Fabius Pictor), recalls the gibes levelled at some of the politicians of Classical Athens, where however there is a more obvious source, namely the exaggerations and inventions of Old Comedy. By Cicero's time, such wild allegations were the stuff of forensic invective (see Nisbet 1961: app. 6, esp. 196 for 'criticisms of social background'), but litigation by or against Varro is not recorded. To be sure, he was a 'new man' (first

of his family to reach the senate), but there is no point in trying – with Scullard, see below – to salvage the detailed claims about his family, any more than it is worth rescuing the claim that Cleon was a tanner or that Euripides' mother was a greengrocer. It has often been remarked (e.g. Scullard 1973: 52 and Lazenby 1978: 74) that Varro's progress through the *cursus honorum* (elite career ladder) had been normal hitherto – L. himself notes here that he had been praetor in 218, and repeats this, with details of lower offices, at 26.3 – and did not include the potentially explosive tribunate. Even after Cannae, he was by no means finished, politically or militarily (*imperium* prorogued in 215, propraeor in Etruria in 208–207, and so on; see *OCD*¹ and Introduction section 9); and see the famous and astonishing book-closure at 61.14 and n., Varro thanked after Cannae for 'not despairing of the *res publica*'. On L.'s characterisation of Varro – 'the only major Roman commander in the Second Punic War of (allegedly) lower-class background' (Levene 2010: 310) – see Bernard 2000: 263. **sed etiam sordido:** for this attitude, cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.150 (quoting Ter. *Eun.* 257), listing *lanii* (25.19) among practitioners of 'sordid' as opposed to 'liberal' trades or professions (cf. 26.1, *liberalioris*).

25.19 lanium 'butcher', 'slaughterer'. See 25.18n. on *unus inuentus est*. But at least L. has the decency to admit (*ferunt*) that this was mere gossip. **ipsum institorem mercis** 'a petty shop-keeper who sold his own goods'.

26.1 is iuuenis ...: the character-sketch and personal history of Varro continues, and there will be yet more sneers of this sort at 34.2. **ut <p>r<im>um:** this is an emendation of the transmitted *utrum*; see Briscoe 2018: 65. **animos ... fecit:** on this phrase ('breed confidence'), see Briscoe 1973: 106 (31.18.3–4n.); the noun is always in the plural. **togaque et forum:** for this use of *toga* ('transf., as the symbol of peacetime or civilian occupation'), see *OLD* 4a. There may, then, be a hint at Varro's lack of obvious military credentials. *forum* could suggest either political or legal activity, see *OLD* 4 or 5, but is perhaps being used semi-figuratively.

26.2 pro sordidis hominibus: for the adjective see 25.18n. L. rubs it in by repetition. **aduersus rem et famam bonorum:** the reference is to civil cases on behalf of poorer people rather than criminal prosecutions, which at this period could only be made by a tribune or aedile before a *iudicium populi*.

26.3 duabus aedilitatibus: normally one held either the curule or the plebeian aedileship, not both; but cf. 27.21.9 and 33.7 (Servilius). The

‘curule’ magistrates were the consuls, praetors, censors (perhaps, see below) and the curule as opposed to the plebeian aediles; these magistrates were so-called because they were entitled to use the official ivory chair, the *sella curulis*. See Mommsen 1887–8: I 402; Oakley 2005b: 100 (10.7.9n.); and *OCD* ‘aediles’, ‘magistracy, Roman’ and ‘*sella curulis*’. The adjective was said in antiquity (Gell. 3.18.4) to derive from *currus*, a chariot, but this may have been wrong. (The disappearance – by ‘degemination’ – of the second *r* would not be a problem, but it might be an Etruscan loan-word. See Leumann 1977: 184 and De Vaan 2008: 157, references we owe to Jim Adams.) Mommsen observed that the censors were never actually called curule magistrates (although they sat on *sellae curules*, Pol. 6.53.9, L. 40.45.8); and they may have lacked *imperium*.

For Varro’s ascent of the *cursus honorum*, see 25.18n.

26.4 auram fauoris popularis: for *popularis aura*, the breath i.e. whim of popular favour, cf. 3.33.7 and Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.20 with Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 29 (citing examples from other authors), also Williams 1969: 35: the idea is that popularity is ‘changeable as the wind’. **unus:** Varro’s uniqueness matches, in a bad way, that of Fabius (see 12.12n. for Ennius’ famous tribute). See also 27.3n.

26.5 rogationem ... latam: the *rogatio* or bill was passed by the *concilium plebis* (assembly of the *plebs*, see *OCD* ‘comitia’). **aequi atque iniqui** ‘friend and foe alike’; see *OLD iniquus* 5b, and for this neat combination in the same sense, see 5.45.1 with Ogilvie 1965: 730. Cf. also 8.34.10, *aequo iniquo loco*.

26.7 †s.c.† de aequato imperio: see Briscoe 2018: 65. No *senatus consultum* has been mentioned, though it is possible that the senate decided to write to Fabius to inform him of the people’s decision (for the process see 26.5n.). The corrector of E may have been right to read *senatus*, depending on *litteris*. **inuicto ... animo:** Pol. (3.103.6) says that Fabius ‘now returned to the army wholly unchanged (οὐδὲν ἡλλοιώμενος) by recent circumstances, and adhering even more firmly than before to his original determination’. On *inuicto* see 27.2n.

27.2 immodice immodesteque ‘without moderation or modesty’. The combination is without parallel in the surviving books of L., but see Plaut. *Persa* 346, Gell. 5.11.13 for the combination of the positive (*modicus et modestus*). **non Hannibale magis uicto ...:** the conceit that some Roman commanders at this time are engaged in a struggle not just with Hannibal but with each other will be most elaborately formulated at 39.4–5 (Fabius’

advice to Paullus before Cannae); see also 29.2 and n., 29.6 and n. *uicto* picks up *inuicto* at 26.7; by this word, and the whole phrase, the narrative voice damns Minucius.

27.3 illum: here contemptuous or sarcastic (*OLD ille* 4c), rather than implying ‘once ... but no longer’, as it did at 12.4; see n. there. **unicum ducem:** Minucius is again sarcastic, but his choice of adjective may possibly have been intended as a reminder that Fabius was indeed unique; see (yet again, cf. 26.4n.) 12.12n. for the Ennian *unus homo*. But *unicum* refers more obviously to the fact that as dictator Fabius had no colleagues and his *imperium* was superior to that of anyone else. If so, it is not necessary to discern an Ennian allusion. **memoria ... annalium:** this use of ‘annals’ to mean ‘history’ (see *FRHist* III 759, passages listed in Index, also Cic. *Mur.* 16 and Tac. *Ann.* 4.43.4, and for the whole expression *annalium memoria*, Cic. *Sull.* 27 and *ad Q. fr.* 1.1 (= SB 1).7; Plin. *NH* 2.140) is a slight anachronism in the mouth of Minucius. Perhaps L. intended an allusion to Fabius Pictor, or he may be referring to the *annales maximi*. **uirgas ac secures** ‘rods and axes’. The reference is to the dispute between Papirius Cursor and his Master of the Horse Fabius Rullianus in 325 BC (25.13n.); see esp. 8.32.10 and 33.21.

The whole of 3 and 4 is in effect a short speech by Minucius in *oratio obliqua*.

27.4 in cunctatione ac segnitia: cf. *pro cunctatore segnem* at 12.2, with n.

27.6 aut diebus alternis: Pol. (3.103.7, accepted by Lazenby 1978: 72) has it the other way round from L.: he says that Fabius offered Minucius a choice between command on alternate days, or division of the army, and that it was Minucius who chose the second option. L.’s version is likelier to be correct (so rightly Seibert 1993a: 175–6 n. 180): both options formally equated the *imperium* of the two men, but a rotating command would risk rendering Fabius powerless on some crucial day, and he is unlikely to have offered it. This is presumably L.’s explanatory point at 27.8–9, though he expresses it in general terms there.

At Cannae, the consuls commanded on alternate days, which was the usual consular system: see 45.4–5 (with nn., esp. on *sors*) and Pol. 3.110.4, both with Mommsen 1887–8: I 48 n. 2 (citing L. 4.46.5). For daily rotation of military command at Athens, see Hdt. 6.110 with Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 249–50.

27.8 omnia fortunam eam habitura ... habuisset ‘everything would depend on [lit. ‘would have’] whatever luck his rash colleague were to

enjoy [lit. ‘the rashness of his colleague were to have’].’ An allusion to the risk that a battle would be fought on one of Minucius’ days of command; see 27.6n.

27.9 se nunquam uolentem ...: see again 27.6n. L. presumably speaks, though he purports to be giving Fabius’ thinking. **se nunquam uolentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum** ‘he would never willingly surrender whatever share he could still retain of the power to guide affairs prudently’. This tr. (implied by W–M) takes *qua* as a relative agreeing with *parte*; the alternative tr. takes *qua* as adverbial: (he would guide affairs) ‘wherever he could’, and on either tr., *parte ... cessurum* means ‘surrender part of’, an abl. of separation. See Dimsdale. *consilio* is in contrast with the *temeritas* of Minucius (Vallet); see 18.9n. **nec se tempora ... exercitum diuisurum** ‘he would not divide with him the periods or days of the command, but would divide the army’. *exercitum* is an ‘adversative asyndeton’ (Dimsdale).

27.10–11 For these four legions see 11.3 and n., and Introduction section 10 p. 84.

27.10 sicut consulibus mos esset: for division of armies when consuls were in different places, see Mommsen 1887–8: I 51 n.1. But here they were in the same place. **inter se diuiderent ... euenerunt:** they drew lots.

27.11 sociumque: gen. pl.

28–30 *Minucius’ Folly; Fabius to the Rescue*

L. follows Pol.’s briefer narrative (3.104–5), but with rhetorical embellishments (some from Coelius, perhaps), notably the addition of the three lively pieces of *oratio recta* in 29–30, and see below for the ambush. The details of the reconciliation and Minucius’ penitence are not from Pol., but the Augustan *elogium* shows that this material was not entirely L.’s invention (29.10n. on *parentem* ...). If L. writes up this event more fully and colourfully than does Pol., that may be because he wants to dwell on a brighter stretch of narrative and a happier outcome from the patriotic Roman perspective, so as to provide emotional relief from the two prolonged stretches of gloom which dominate book 22: Trasimene and Cannae. Fabius’ prudence also throws the folly of Varro at Cannae into sharper relief.

The detail of the ambush at 28 is more elaborate than in Pol. For L.’s interest in such things, and his stylised ambush descriptions, see Oakley

2005a: 52-3 (9.2.6-8n., on the Caudine Forks disaster). Stephen Oakley also suggests to us that the present passage may recall Pol. 3.71.1-4, the battle at the Trebia, where L. has cut out the tedious sermon in the original on how to ambush.

28.1 duplex inde Hannibali gaudium ... explorantem: with *gaudium*, cf. 40.7, *mirè gaudere*, also of Hannibal. Pol. (3.104.1) says that Hannibal knew of the rivalry between the generals, both from what he saw for himself and from prisoners. L. amplifies and enlivens this by adding Hannibal's double joy.

There is a further amplification. L. has already told the reader twice that Roman matters 'did not escape Hannibal', *nec Hannibalem fefellit*, 16.5 and 24.3. Now he explains how this was possible. The obtaining of information through deserters or spies must have been frequent in the ancient world. L. expands Pol.'s simple 'he knew', ᾔδει, so as to spread the scope of the remark. The reader, who might otherwise wonder how Hannibal knew enough about the situation on the Roman side to feel double or any other quantity of joy, is invited (see esp. the generalising *quicquam* and the impf. *fallebat*) to bear this source of information in mind throughout the narrative. For this technique cf. Th. 6.69.1 and 7.36.6 with *CT*. At 41.5, Hannibal is said to have been as well-informed about the situation on the Roman side as on his own. See also 21.53.7-8 (Hannibal knows that Flaminius was *ferox* first from report and then from his own experience, *fama prius deinde re*), and see 21.53.11 on his Gallic scouts.

28.2 liberam ... temeritatem 'unbridled rashness'. For the noun see 3.4n.

28.3 tumulus erat ...: like the *est locus* formula, this serves to introduce the topographical element which dominates the ensuing narrative. For this sort of asyndetic opening formula (used for people as well as places), see 22.6n. on *Abelux erat*. See further 28.4n.

28.4 eum: a demonstrative often binds the *est locus* formula (22.6n., 28.3n.) into the narrative.

28.5 ager omnis medius 'all the land in between'. This is the subject of the clause, *inutilis* is the predicate.

28.6 re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis: cf. 4.2 (Trasimene), *ad loca nata insidiis*, and n., also 44.4. **nulla talis fraus:** often used of ambushes, but also a hint at a regular characterisation of Hannibal and the Carthaginians generally (6.12n. and 48.1n.). See also 28.8, *fraudem*. **ducenos armatos:**

Pol. (3.104.4) says two *or three* hundred; otherwise their figures are much the same.

28.8 fraudem: 28.6n. **quem ante diximus:** at 28.3; for the style of cross-reference, 24.1n.

28.9 stolidissimos: see Oakley 1998: 93–4 (7.5.6n.), arguing that *stolidus* was an archaism for L. This is his only use of the superlative.

28.10 deinde ... equites: see 47.1n. (possible connection with Enn. *Ann.* 263 Sk).

28.12 succedens ... succedentem ‘advancing up the hill’ ... ‘who were coming up behind them’.

28.13 si iusta ac recta pugna esset: L. is always reluctant to admit that Roman infantry were worsted in a fair fight: there is usually an excuse. Cf. 21.56.1–3 (elephants), and 4.2n., citing Bruckmann and Oakley. **prosperare ... gesta:** the battle of 24, which L. continues to regard as historical.

28.14 neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes: chiasitic.

29.1 tum: this signals a decisive turning-point, cf. 17.6n. on *tum uero*. **ita est** ‘it is as I thought’. **non ... temeritatem?** it is more effective to treat Fabius’ ‘I-told-you-so’ outburst as a question. For the noun see 3.4n.

29.2 Hannibalem ... superiorem uidet: L. persistently plays up the theme of ‘who is superior to Hannibal?’, cf. 27.2n. and 29.6. **et uirtute et fortuna:** see 18.19n. **aliud iurgandi suscensendique tempus** ‘another occasion for quarrels and anger’ [lit. ‘for quarrelling and being angry’].

29.3 magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam: again (cf. 28.14n.) chiasitic. The first three words refer both to those killed and those trying to flee. **uelut caelo demissa:** the expression is not uncommon (*OLD caelum* 5d, cf. English ‘heaven-sent opportunity’), but there may be a hint at divine intervention, especially in view of the recurrence of the ‘heaven’ motif at 30.7. See n. there on ‘praising to the skies’, which is also not an uncommon notion in Latin as in English. But it is the double ‘heaven’, and the poetic ‘stormy weather’ metaphor at 30.10, which, by cumulative force, move it out of the realm of cliché. For the ‘*deus ex machina*’ technique here, see Walsh 1961: 201.

If there is such a religious hint here, Plut. *Fab.* 12.4 picks it up, by his choice of the ambiguous ἐπιφανεῖς to describe Fabius at this moment. The

verb can mean simply ‘appear’, but is also the *mot juste* for a divine or heroic epiphany.

29.5 uage ‘haphazardly’. **uoluentesque orbem** ‘forming a circle’; an unusual expression, but cf. 4.28.3 and perhaps Plin. *NH* 2.6. **nunc ... nunc**: see 1.3n.

29.6 palam ferente: what follows (not in Pol.) is surely L.’s own invention; it is most improbable that Hannibal made such a public confession to his disheartened troops, though he might have muttered something to Maharbal. **ab se Minucium ...**: see 29.2n. (the ‘who is superior to Hannibal?’ theme again).

29.8 ‘saepe ego ... audiui ... esse’: this introduces a version of Hes. *Works and Days* 293–7: ‘the man who thinks of everything by himself, considering what will be better, later and in the end – this man is the best of all, πανάριστος. Fine, too, is the man who is persuaded by someone who speaks well. But whoever neither thinks by himself nor listens to what someone else says, and lays it to his heart – that man is good for nothing.’ For the same allusion (again unattributed), see Cic. *Clu.* 84, which L. might have in mind here; but *saepe* might suggest a collection of such maxims, to which even the sophisticated likes of Cicero could have had recourse as a short cut. The lines are already quoted in full, and with attribution, by Ar. *Nic. Eth.* 1095b. For L. and poetry, 17.5n., and for the popularity of the *Works and Days* in Greco-Roman antiquity generally, Hunter 2014 (but without discussion of L., or of the Ar. or Cic. passages).

29.9 dum imperare discimus: ‘until we have learnt ...’; for *dum* + present indicative to mean ‘until’, see K–St II 378–9; cf. 8.7.7 and Virg. *Ecl.* 9.23 *dum redeo*. **parere prudenti**: for Fabius’ *prudentia*, see 12.6n.

29.10 parentem appellauero: as independently attested in the Augustan *elogium* for Fabius, see introductory n. to 23–30 (but, as noted there, the inscription has not just Minucius but the whole ‘Minucian army’ hailing Fabius as father, *pater*). See also 30.2 and 34.6, *ut pater patronusque appellaretur*. Cf. *OLD pater* 5a, and Weinstock 1971: 149 with n. 7. The frequency of male adoption *inter uiuos* at Republican Rome perhaps made the gesture seem more familiar and less extraordinary. Pol. 6.39.7 (cf. W–M) described the honours paid to Roman soldiers who save the lives of others: ‘the man thus preserved also reverences his preserver as a father all through his life, and must treat him in every way as a parent’, σέβεται δὲ τοῦτον καὶ παρ’ ὅλον τὸν βίον ὁ σωθεὶς ὡς πατέρα, καὶ πάντα δεῖ τούτῳ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς τῷ γονεῖ.

In or near L.'s own time, Marius, Cicero, Caesar and Augustus could be called *parens* or *pater patriae*. Weinstock 1971: 57, 165, 179, 200–27 (also 295 and n. 1 for Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, as *deus parens*).

29.11 patronos salutabit: see 29.1on. and 34.6n. The noun implies (see *OLD* *patronus* 1b) that the troops were clients of Fabius.

30.1 ut colligantur uasa 'that they should pack up their kit'. See *OLD* *uas* 2b and cf. 21.47.2.

30.2 tribunal 'platform', of turf or stone. See *OLD* 1b. **patrem**: see 29.1on. **circumfususque ... consalutasset** 'and his entire army saluted as patrons those of his soldiers who had gathered round them'.

30.3 te modo ... aequaui: Minucius' point is that he has just, *modo*, made Fabius the equal of his biological parents by greeting him with the name 'parent' (he means the appellation *patrem* at 30.2), which is as much as he can do by words: *fando*, 'by speaking', from the verb *for*, *fari*. (But he will now prove his sincerity by his actions.)

30.4 itaque plebei scitum ... restituo: for this whole passage see Briscoe 2018: 65–6: *quod ... quod ... sit felix* is the language of prayer (an abbreviation of the normal *quod bonum faustum felixque sit*), and the repetition of *quod* should be retained (a variant of the prayer formula, but suitably incantatory), so that *quod tibi mihiue, quod exercitibus ...* is very effective. **oneratus ... honoratus** 'onerous ... honourable': the play on words (*paronomasia*) is certainly deliberate. See Hardie 2004: 255 on Ov. *Met.* 13.286–7, discussing *sensurus honores* at line 287 (and citing also *Met.* 2.634, *oneri gaudebat honore*); cf. also Guggenheimer 1972: 88 and n. 60, citing Cic. *orat. frag. incert.* no. 26 (Crawford 1994: 299) *non honori sed oneri*; Quint. *Inst.* 4 pr. 2. **antiquo**: the correct technical term (see e.g. 45.35.9 with Briscoe 2012a: 727, citing Oakley 1997: 688 (6.38.5n.)) for rejecting or voting against a motion or *rogatio*; lit. 'restore to the previous state'; *antiquare est in morem pristinum reducere*. Paul. Fest. 24 L. See *OLD* *antiquo*. **abrogoque**: cf., e.g., 25.10 (about the termination or repeal of Fabius' *imperium*).

30.5 placatus: this perhaps hints at Fabius as god (30.7 and 1onn.).

30.6 dextrae interiunctae: for friendly hand-clasping, see *OCD*⁴ 'gestures', citing Virg. *Aen.* 1.408–9, a hand-clasp refused (*cur dextrae iungere dextram/non datur ... ?*). The symbolism was (and is) cross-cultural. Physical

hand-tokens were exchanged in the ancient Near and Middle East (e.g. *Nep. Dat.* 10.1), and some survive archaeologically; see Sherwin-White 1978.

30.7 Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre: L. usually calls him either Fabius or *dictator*, except that in two places – the introductory 8.6 (see n. there), and the weighty re-introduction at 38.13 – he is given his *tria nomina*, Q. Fabius Maximus. This is the only place in book 22 where L. uses the *cognomen* Maximus alone. To be sure, he does so at 10.17.11 (Rullianus), 24.12.5, 29.20.1 (Verrucosus) and 45.34.8 (Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, consul in 145). But 27.8.13, 45.27.1 and 45.33.8, where the name of the father (Verrucosus at 27.8.13, L. Aemilius Paullus – consul in 182 and 168, son of the Paullus killed at Cannae – at 45.27.1, 45.33.8) precedes, are not parallel. In none of the above passages does there seem to be any particular significance in *Maximus*. But here, the designation by the *cognomen* alone is a reminder of the literal meaning of the word, which is perhaps specially appropriate in combination with the idea of ‘praising to the skies’ (for which expression cf., e.g., 7.36.7, *Decium in caelum ferunt*, and see again *OLD caelum* 5d, as at 29.3n. on Fabius’ ‘almost heaven-sent’ military intervention; and for *maximus* as cult title, esp. of Jupiter, see *OLD* 6a). Cf. Hardie, cited at 30.10n. *pater*, the appellation just accorded to Fabius, was part of the etymology of ‘Jupiter’: Wissowa 1912: 113.

30.10 eam nubem ... cum procella imbrem dedisse: a splendid closure to this entire compact episode (it was reproduced by Plut. at *Fab.* 12.6); see Hardie 2012: 261: ‘no storms of public opinion and windy rumour blowing through the forum, but a single targeted cloudburst issuing from the mountain-top – as if sent by Jupiter, perhaps’. Hannibal has been bettered on the battlefield for the moment; but he is given the last word. The cloud may recall the famous metaphor of the ‘clouds from the west’ (i.e. either Rome or Carthage), whose victory was, according to *Pol.* 5.104.10, predicted by Agelaus after Trasimene: 7.6–11.9n.

The temperature of the rhetoric of 29–30 progressively rises, and culminates in this piece of prose poetry. In particular, it was argued above that there is a religious tinge to it all. Fabius is a kind of saviour god to the Romans (29.3n and 30.7n.), but a menacing storm-god to Hannibal and Carthaginians. L. operates at the level of suggestion, but there is no contradiction. For the extravagant and explicit assimilation to Jupiter of a Republican Roman of the historical period, cf. 6.17.5, Manlius Capitolinus as ‘almost heavenly’, ‘equal to Jupiter’, *prope caelestem ... Ioui parem*.

31–40.3 EVENTS AT SEA AND IN ROME AND ITALY

31–33.8 *Events at Sea; Digression on Fabius' Title; Events in Italy and Rome*

This final part of L.'s narrative for the consular year 217 consists of a number of briefly related episodes, with a digression arguing that Fabius' title was *pro dictatore*, not *dictator*. Since the elections for 216 did not take place until the beginning of that year, the lengthy account of the elections (33.9–35.7) spans the year break: 33.11n.

31.1–7 *Naval campaign of Servilius*. Cf. Pol. 3.96.10–14, following his description of Carthaginian naval action (cf. 11.6n.). The details of the two accounts differ widely, and L. must here have followed Coelius rather than combining him with Pol.: 19–22n.

31.1 <centum uiginti>: L. would not have talked of just 'a fleet of ships' and the number was restored by Lipsius from Pol. 3.96.10; a Roman numeral is always liable to corruption or omission.

31.1–2 *circumuectus ... acceptis*: Pol. has nothing about Sardinia, Corsica and hostages, but says that Servilius landed at Lilybaeum in Sicily.

31.2 *Menige ... uastata*: not mentioned by Pol. The name of the island is Meninx, Meninge being a town on it (Plin. *NH* 5.41); it is mod. Île de Jerba, Tunisia (*Barr.* map 35 C1). It is possible that L. wrote *Meninge*. **Cercinam**: Pol. 3.96.12; it is mod. Kerkinnah (*Barr.* map 33 F3; cf. *HCP* 431).

31.3 *naualesque socii*: cf. 11.7n. **iuxta ... praedarentur**: they imagined that the mainland would be like Menige. **iuxta ... ac si**: L. writes *iuxta ac* on four other occasions, including 32.5 (21.33.4 is different; cf. Briscoe 2018: 36–7), but adds *si* only here; cf. H–S 478, 675.

31.4 †*ab locorum et ignari gnaris*†: L. is clearly saying that the Roman troops, unacquainted with the terrain, were surrounded by people who knew it well. *ad* is a corruption of *ab*, but the five words are in the wrong order. *et* must come first, but whether one should then read *ignari ab locorum gnaris* (Alschefski) or *locorum ignari ab gnaris* (Frigell) is uncertain. For a fuller discussion see Briscoe 2018: 66–7. **foeda fuga**: L. uses this alliterative coupling also at 1.12.6, 26.1.9, 41.19; he took it from Sallust *Iug.* 38.7, 43.1, in the latter accompanied by wordplay on *foedus* 'treaty'.

31.5 ad 'about'; for this adverbial use of *ad* with numerals, cf. *OLD* 20a and Briscoe 2008: 293 (39.21.2n.). **Ti. Sempronio Blaeso:** (32). He is not otherwise known; all the attested Sempronii Blaesi belong to this period, the first being the consul of 253 and 244. P has *iis* but the *praenomen* is not in doubt (it is preceded by a question mark at *MRR* I.244): it is common among the Sempronii. *iis* arose from dittography of *S*. **quaestore:** at this time there were probably ten quaestors, and Sempronius was one of the original two who were attached to the consuls; he will have remained with Servilius during Fabius' dictatorship (the doubts at *MRR* I 246 n. 8 are unjustified).

31.5-6 in Siciliam ... Lilybaei: Pol. 3.96.13 says that Servilius returned to Lilybaeum (cf. 31.1-2n.). Lilybaeum (*Barr.* map 47 A3; mod. Marsala) is at the westernmost point in Sicily.

31.6 T. Otacilio praetori: cf. 10.10n. **P. Cincio:** (not in *RE*). *Cincio* is Hertz' virtually certain emendation of *circi* in P. The three other known Cincii (one the historian L. Cincius Alimentus; *FRHist* 2) all belong to the period of the Hannibalic War.

31.7 pedibus 'by land' (obviously, Servilius did not walk from Lilybaeum to Messina); cf. *OLD* *pes* 6a. **M. Atilius:** cf. 25.16n. **ut exercitus ... acciperent:** four legions (11.2-3). Servilius presumably resumed command of the two legions which he had surrendered to Fabius at the beginning of his dictatorship (11.5-6). **semestri imperio:** the period of office of a *dictator* was limited to six months; cf. Oakley 2005a: 439 (9.34.12n.). Pol. (3.106.1) is under the misapprehension that Fabius and Minucius continued in office until the end of the consular year; cf. *HCP* 435 and 34.1n.

31.8-11 Digression on Fabius' title. Having mentioned the end of Fabius' dictatorship, L. adds this 'footnote'; at 8.6 he had reported the election of Fabius and Minucius by the people without the slightest indication of doubt. Similarly, in book 21, having placed the events narrated in 6-15.2 in 218, in 15.3-6 he argues that this cannot have been correct. Other examples are 4.20.5-11, where having previously said that Cornelius Cossus had dedicated the *spolia opima* (see *OCD*¹) as a military tribune, L. reports Augustus' discovery of a linen breastplate with an inscription recording that Cossus had made the dedication as consul, and 38.56-7, where he expresses serious doubts about Valerius Antias' account of the trials of the Scipios, which he had followed from 50.5 to 55.13. 4.20.5-11, a famous passage, is probably an addition inserted after Augustus made his revelation about the inscription.

31.8 This constitutes Coelius Antipater *FRHist* 15F15; see III 248–9, where it is argued that Coelius was right: since there was no consul available to nominate the dictator, the Romans, as usual, demonstrated flexibility in a crisis and the choice was made by the people. **omnium prope:** the implication is that at least one writer said that Fabius was *pro dictatore*, but that may not be so: as at 32.6.8, where he is explicit, L. may be allowing for the possibility that a writer whom he had not read took this view. **Coelius ... scribit:** there is no implication either that other writers thought that there was a precedent for popular election or that Coelius was the only writer to say that Fabius was popularly elected. Lesiński (2002) argues, implausibly, that the *comitia* decided that Fabius should be the *dictator*, but that the formal nomination was made by the surviving consul, Cn. Servilius Geminus.

31.9–11 L.'s argument is one of excessive legalism.

31.9 in Gallia prouincia: L. appears to have forgotten that at 8.1 he had said that Servilius was in Umbria.

31.10 <tertia>: in the OCT Briscoe printed Lentz' supplement, referring to Trasimene as the third defeat following Ticinus and Trebia, and he still believes this is right: it would be impossibly weak for L. to have said only that Rome was *now* terrified by the defeat, and *tertia* is a very easy omission after *territa*. (*iam* is important: it has no point in reference to Trasimene alone, and it is unlikely that L. would say that the Romans elected Fabius as *pro dictatore* because *now*, terrified by Trasimene, they could not tolerate delay, as if they had not been terrified before.) Against Lentz's supplement, W–M 158 (following Luterbacher) protested that it was inconsistent with 23.33.4, where *tertia* (twice) must refer to the sequence Trebia Trasimene Cannae. But there is no reason why L. should not there have made Cannae the third Carthaginian victory, even if in the present passage he had implied that Trasimene was the third *clades* (three was the magic number). It might also be objected that L. calls Trebia a *clades* at 21.57.1, whereas he never uses that word to describe Ticinus specifically, although he perhaps does so by implication at 25.12, *bienniique clades* (see n. there). But the noun can mean no more than 'defeat' (as at e.g. 8.1). **eo decursum esse ut** 'resort was had to'. **pro dictatore:** strictly speaking, proconsuls and propraeors were *pro consule* or *pro praetore* (lit. 'in place of a consul/praeor'), but L. was willing, sometimes at least, to use *proconsul* and *propraetor* as nouns; see Briscoe 2008: 574 (Appendix 2).

31.11 titulum imaginis: the inscription on Fabius' death mask. At 8.40.4, L. talks of the historical record having been falsified by such inscriptions. **<creatus esset, dictator>:** Weissenborn. P has *qui pro dictatore*, and it is clear that the verb of the relative clause and *dictator* have been lost. The lacuna begins with *creatus* and the omission resulted from a scribe's eye moving from *cre(atus)* to *cre(deretur)*. Luterbacher preferred *erat* to *esset*: there are two indicatives (*aberat*, *poterat*) in the *oratio obliqua* depending on *fugit*, but with *esset* in the previous sentence, the indicative is less likely here. For fuller discussion see Briscoe 2018: 67.

32.1–3 Military Actions of the Consuls

32.1 The main clause of this brief period consists of the subject *consules*, distributed by their names (*Atilius ... Geminus Seruilius*) and, in an ablative absolute, the armies they took over (*Fabiano ... Minuciano accepto*), another ablative absolute (*hibernaculis ... communitis*), and the predicate *Fabi artibus ... gesserunt*, containing a relative clause *quod ... erat*. This structure would have been clearer with a comma after *consules*, but that would spoil the balance of *consules Atilius Fabiano* and *Geminus Seruilius Minuciano* (which explains why L. gives only Servilius his *cognomen*). **Fabiano ... Minuciano:** cf. 11.3n. **hibernaculis ... autumni erat:** for the chronology cf. Intro. p. 26. *hibernacula*, strictly speaking, are the buildings and tents inside the winter camp (*hiberna*), but as at 35.7.7 (see Briscoe 1981: 154), the word here probably refers to the camp as a whole. *quod reliquum autumni erat* is a brachylogy for *per eam partem autumni quae reliqua erat*. **Fabi artibus:** the Fabian strategy; cf. 24.10 (*artibus Fabi*), 34.7 (*Fabianis artibus*). *artibus* recurs in 32.2 (of Hannibal) and 32.3. **summa ... concordia:** in total contrast to Fabius and Minucius.

32.2 opportuni aderant 'were in attendance at the right place and time'. **omnibus artibus:** taking up *artibus* in 1.

32.3 adeoque ... gererent: this sentence contains two counterfactual conditionals. L. says that if Hannibal had not been afraid of appearing to have taken flight, he would have returned to Gaul (i.e. northern Italy), and that Hannibal thought that if the incoming consuls (i.e. those, not yet elected, for 216) were to continue the Fabian strategy, he would be unable to feed his army. It should be emphasised that the second counterfactual depends on the first: if Hannibal had not been afraid etc., he would have returned to Gaul because he thought that if he stayed in central Italy and the consuls etc., he would be etc. It is true that if either Hannibal had retreated northwards or the consuls of 216 had continued the Fabian

strategy, the battle of Cannae would not have taken place, but L. is not, or at least not directly, saying that if only Varro had not been elected, the catastrophe of Cannae would have been avoided. For discussion of counterfactual history, see Intro. section 7(g). **adeoque inopia est coactus** ‘to such an extent was Hannibal constrained by lack of supplies’. P’s reading has caused unnecessary difficulty (see app.): it is perfectly good Latin (cf. 39.54.5), and it is no objection that *cogere* is not elsewhere modified by *adeo*. **Galliam repetiturus fuerit** (lit.) ‘was going to return to Gaul’, sc. ‘and would have done so ...’. When the apodosis of a counterfactual protasis is itself a subordinate clause, the verb, instead of being a pluperfect subjunctive, consists of a future participle + *fuerim*; cf. K–St II 408–9.

32.4–9 Embassy from Naples

32.4 cum ad Gereonium ... uenere: since the verb is in the subjunctive, the *cum* clause cannot be purely temporal and must in some way explain the arrival of the Neapolitan envoys: L. presumably means that their route from Naples to Rome would take them close to the opposing armies and might lead to their detention, by one side or the other. On Gereonium cf. 18.7n.; for the fighting in its vicinity, see 23.9–24.14. **iam:** with *hieme impediēte*, not *constitisset*. **constitisset bellum** ‘the war had come to a halt’; cf. 21.49.1, 35.4.1. **Neapolitani:** Neapolis (mod. Naples) had been an ally of Rome, with a favourable treaty (*foedus aequum*) but required to provide ships when demanded, since 326; cf. Briscoe 1981: 169 (35.16.3n.); for the earlier history of Neapolis, see Oakley 1998: 633–6 (part of long n. on 8.22.5); also Hornblower 2018: 108–9, noting the naval importance to Rome of Naples’ firm loyalty: Hannibal, effectively cut off as he was from Carthage, urgently needed a good maritime base, which is why he wanted to take Naples after Cannae (but he abandoned the attempt): 23.1.5–10, esp. 5 *ut urbem maritimam haberet*. **paterae aureae:** to be melted down and coined. For Roman gold coinage during the Hannibalic War, cf. Crawford 1974: 33–4, 46, 103–4. **ita ... dicerent:** L. could have allowed the *oratio obliqua* to depend directly on *uerba facta*.

32.5–8 In *oratio obliqua* L. often uses primary subjunctives depending on a historic main verb. Conway (1902: 187–97) enunciated the principles which, he believed, were followed by L.; see Briscoe 2008: 571–3 (appendix 1); 2012: 766–70 (appendix 1). Here, though, *geratur* (5) is followed by *foret* (6), *crederent*, *duxissent* (7) and *iudicauerint*, *darent* and *acciperent* (8), which can in no way be explained on Conway’s principles, and it must be accepted that sometimes L. alternated tenses at will; cf. 34.4–11.

32.5 iuxta ... ac: cf. 31.3n. **capite ... Italiae** ‘capital of Italy’w; for Rome as the capital of the world, see 1.16.7, 21.30.10, *TLL* III 426.29–54.

32.7 opem in sese: sc. *esse*, though omission after *esse* is easy and *sese* <*esse*> may be right. The Neapolitans mean that if they thought they would be any use in the Roman army, they would have volunteered; they do not mention their treaty obligation for naval service (4n.), not so far enforced in the current conflict. **omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent:** similarly Masinissa is made to say that he knows his kingdom really belongs to the Romans (45.13.15–16) and that they can do what they like with it. Whether the senate really regarded the possessions of Rome’s allies as its own or was genuinely pursuing a policy based on international friendship and equality, as Burton (2011) believes, it would not have warranted such sentiments to be openly expressed.

32.8 ‘and should judge them as deserving to have their gift accepted, being of greater size and value in respect of the intention and wishes of the willing donors than in reality’. A contorted form of expression, probably meant to reflect the ambassadors’ unconvincing attempt to represent their gift as trivial.

32.9 The senate did not want to appear indebted to Naples (cf. 36.9, 37.11) or to give the impression that Rome’s own resources (including, of course, allied manpower) were not sufficient to defeat Hannibal. Contrast the pathetic appeal to envoys from Capua put in the mouth of Varro after Cannae (23.5).

33.1–2 *Punishment of Carthaginian Spy and Conspiring Slaves*

33.1 per eosdem dies: an ‘autoschediasm’, as De Sanctis called a chronological link for which it is unlikely that L. had good evidence (cf. Briscoe 2008: 18 n. 49). **speculator ... dimissus:** if he had been operating in Rome for two years, he cannot have been a member of the Carthaginian army. He may have been sent from Spain by Hannibal or acting on his own initiative; or perhaps the accusations of spying were false. For diplomatic activity as a cover for espionage (as in the modern world) before the Third Macedonian War, cf. Briscoe 2012a: 18. **praecisis manibus:** for another instance of this piece of Roman barbarity, cf. 26.12.19.

33.2 One wonders if the Carthaginian spy had encouraged the slaves (cf. Capozza 1966: 95–100). For a slave revolt at Setia in 198 BC, see 32.26. **in crucem acti:** in Rome crucifixion was a punishment usually

reserved for slaves; cf. Hengel 1977: 51-63 (39-45 for the rare instances of crucifixion of citizens). *in crucem agere* is used by Cicero and Sallust but only here by L., who writes *in crucem tollere* at 13.9, 30.43.12 and 38.48.13. **in campo Martio**: the slaves presumably hoped that because of its size twenty-five of them could meet there and swear oaths without being noticed. **coniurassent**: subjunctive to indicate what they were accused of. **indici**: it is unclear whether he was present at the gathering but then turned state evidence or was an agent provocateur. **aeris grauis**: liberal asses; cf. 10.7n.

33.3-6 *Embassies to Macedon, Liguria and Illyria*

33.3 Philippum Macedonum regem: Philip V, who had succeeded Antigonus Doson in 221. In 215 he entered into an alliance with Hannibal (23.33.1-34.9, 38.1-39.4), creating a second front against Rome and provoking the First Macedonian War, which continued until 205; see Errington, *CAH VIII* 94-106. He plays a major role in the fourth decade, which begins with the outbreak of the Second Macedonian War and ends with Philip's death in 179. See Walbank 1940. **Demetrium Pharium**: Demetrius of Pharos had been governor of the island of Pharos (*Barr.* map 20 D/E6) under the Illyrian Queen Teuta (see 33.5n.). When Teuta captured Corcyra, she put Demetrius in charge of its garrison, but he surrendered it to the Romans and was rewarded by being put in control of part of Illyria (Pol. 2.10-11). In 220 he sailed south, attacking Pylos and some of the Cyclades. The following year the consuls L. Aemilius Paullus and M. Livius Salinator (cf. 35.3n.) were sent to Illyria, but Demetrius escaped and fled to Macedon (Pol. 4.16, 37 and 66). He died in an attack on Ithome in 214 (Pol. 3.19.11). Cf. Errington, *CAH VIII* 85-94.

33.4 Ligures ... iuuissent: Roman power had not yet reached Liguria; for Ligurian support for Hannibal, cf. 21.58.1, 59.10. The senate is concerned with the area north of Pisa; the Ligurians in the Carthaginian army (21.22.2, 38.3) will have come from the part of Liguria west of Genoa. **ad expostulandum** 'to remonstrate', not also to demand satisfaction (W-M), which the *legati* were hardly in a position to do. L. uses the verb elsewhere only at 21.25.5, also in the gerund, of *legati* sent to the Boii to protest at the attack on Placentia (mod. Piacenza) and Cremona. **ad uisendum ... gererentur**: it is hard to see how, lacking modern methods of surveillance, the ambassadors were expected to observe the situation. **Boiis atque Insubribus**: the Boii lived in the Po valley, between the river and the Apennines; their chief town was Felsina (2.2n.). First defeated by Rome in 283/2, they rebelled in the 220s and were again

defeated. For the Insubres cf. 6.3n. In 218 both tribes had attacked the newly founded colonies of Placentia and Cremona (21.25.2–26.2).

33.5 Pinnem: the name, attested in both Greek and Latin sources (though Pol. knows nothing of him) was restored by Schulze (P has *Pineum*). He was the son of Agron, Teuta's husband, by a secondary wife (who later married Demetrius) and Teuta was in fact Regent for him; cf. *HCP* 156. **stipendium:** an indemnity had been imposed on Teuta after the First Illyrian War, but this is probably a further one, imposed after the war of 219; cf. *HCP* 165. **dies exierat** 'the due date had passed'. **proferri** 'to be deferred'; cf. *OLD profero* 10a.

33.6 The diplomatic activity is indeed remarkable. It can, though, be explained in two ways: (i) the eastern embassies were motivated by concern about the possible creation of a second front; (ii) the senate was demonstrating that despite Trasimene it was far from losing its nerve. But if it thought that the embassies, at least those to Macedon and Liguria, were going to be effective, they were being very optimistic. (The historical detail eliminates the possibility of annalistic invention.) **nullius ... ne longinquae quidem:** an example of one type of what De Jong 1989: 61–8 calls 'presentation by negation' (i.e. 'they did not, as you might expect, reduce their diplomatic activity in this crisis period'), comparable in its admiring implications to Th. 1.105.4, the Athenians 'did not [as you might expect, given that Attica had just been invaded by the Corinthians] withdraw their army from Aigina, but instead ...'.

33.7–8 Temple of Concordia

33.7 in religionem ... uenit 'it was regarded as a matter of religion'. The only other instance of *in religionem uenire* in L. (it occurs also at Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.10) is 10.37.16; there it is constructed with a consecutive clause, here with an acc. + inf. **aedem Concordiae:** the temple was on the Capitol (33.8 *in arce*; cf. Giannelli, *LTUR* I 321) and is not to be confused with the remains of the temple at the northern end of the Forum, infamously built by L. Opimius, consul in 121, to commemorate the murder of Gaius Gracchus and his supporters, perhaps on the site of a temple built by Camillus (cf. Ferroni, *LTUR* I 316–20). **per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia:** L. thus appears to date the praetorship of L. Manlius (92) Vulso to 219; at 21.17.7, 25.8, Pol. 3.40.11, however, he is clearly praetor in 218: L. is probably reckoning from the beginning of the consular year 218 to the end of consular 217; cf. *MRR* I 240 n. 4.

33.8 The establishment of a new temple in Rome involved a vow by a commander in the field, the letting of a contract for its construction and, once constructed, the dedication of the temple. For the letting of contracts for the construction of temples, cf. Orlin 1997: 141–58 (154–5 for the present episode); the contract was often let by the commander who had vowed it and *duumviri aedi locandae* are attested on only three occasions, the others being 7.28.5 and 40.44.9–10. **M. Aemilio praetore urbano:** cf. 9.11 n. **C. Pupius:** (3). Not otherwise known. **Caeso Quinctius Flaminius:** (41). Not otherwise known; see Broughton, *MRR* III 179 for Badian's suggestion (1971: 106–10) that he is identical with the praetor of 208 whose name appears at 27.22.3 as Q. Claudius Flamen. The *praenomen* C(K)aeso is used only by the Fabii and the Quinctii.

33.9–35.7 Elections for 216 BC

The unusually long account of a consular election, together with Asconius 30–6C, concerning the election of Pompey as sole consul in 52 BC, provides important evidence for the conduct of an election during an *interregnum*. See also Briscoe, *CAH* VIII 69–70, with bibliography. For the political significance of the election, see Intro. pp. 77–80.

If consuls for the following year had not been elected by the last day of the preceding year (*prid. Id. Mart.*; 14 March) at this time, control passed to the *patres*, which in the context of an *interregnum* always refers to the patrician senators, not, as is normal, to the senate as a whole (cf. Cic. *Dom.* 38). They nominated one of their number as *interrex*, to hold office for five days; the first *interrex* could not himself hold the elections (Ascon. 43C; on the nomination of subsequent *interreges*, see 34.1 n.).

In an election conducted by an *interrex*, so it seems, the people did not choose from a list of candidates; rather the *interrex* placed one name at a time before the assembly, to accept or reject (not a slate of two names, as is clear from 35.2; cf. Ramsey 2016: 313 n. 53). It was thus easier to block than secure a candidate's election.

Pol. (3.106.1–2), who did not understand the working of the Republican constitution at a micro level, was under the misapprehension that Fabius and Minucius were still in office at the end of the consular year.

L. here uses *patres* on six occasions (33.11, 34.1 (*bis*), 2, 8, 9) sometimes to mean the patricians, sometimes the senate as a whole. It would have been clearer if he had written *patricii* for the former sense, *senatus* for the later.

On *interregna* throughout the Republic, see Koptev 2016.

33.9 si iis uideretur: L. adds this phrase (with *ei* or *iis*) on nine other occasions, none in the first decade. In theory the senate is giving a magistrate advice (hence the polite formula), not an instruction (cf. 11.2n.); on this occasion the consuls reject the advice. **eam diem:** cf. 10.3n. Here the reference is to a particular day and Cicero would probably have written *eum*; L., however, is influenced by the facts that the day is the end of a period and has not yet been fixed.

33.10 The consuls' reply is not entirely logical: clearly the end of their period of office is not imminent, but they do not mention the possibility of the elections being conducted by a dictator.

33.11 dictatorem ... causa: during the Hannibalic War such dictators conducted elections in 213, 210, 208, 207, 205, 203 and 202. They held office only for so long as was needed to complete their task. A *magister equitum* was also appointed but his role in the elections is obscure. **L. Veturius Philo:** (19). Consul in 220. **M. Pomponium Mathonem:** cf. 7.8n. **magistrum equitum dixit:** a dictator normally nominated his *magister equitum*, cf. 7.8n. See Introduction p. 76.

33.12 iis ... abdicare: a declaration that an election had been faulty was made by the college of augurs (cf. 34.3, 8n., 10), of whom Fabius was the senior member; it may be that he himself had ambitions to hold the consulship in 216 and thought that if the election was conducted by an *interrex* and no existing patrician candidate was elected, he would be nominated. Similarly, he will have been responsible for the invalidation of Marcellus' election for 215, which led to his own third consulship (23.31.12-14). **die quarto decimo ... rediit:** not immediately: otherwise, their office would have expired on the last day of the consular year, without the need for abdication. **ad interregnum res rediit:** L. uses the expression on ten other occasions, all in the first decade and with *res* preceding *interregnum* in eight of them. He means that the situation was as it had been the last time there had been an *interregnum* (not attested since 291); when he first uses it, following the death of Numa (1.22.1), the reference is to the first *interregnum*, after the death of Romulus (1.17.6) and it is thus readily intelligible. Cf. Oakley 1997: 388-9 (6.1.5n.).

216 BC

The words *ad interregnum res rediit* (33.12) and *consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium* (34.1) indicate that the consular year 217 is at an end; W-M strangely put the break at the beginning of 37.

At 23.30.18, L. says that after the end of the third year of the Punic War, *circumacto tertio anno Punici belli*, Sempronius entered his consulship (for 215) on the Ides of March. But L. nowhere says, either here or hereabouts in book 22, ‘in the third year of the Punic War [i.e. the year now *began*] the consuls were ...’. This will be a frequent formula in later books, but he starts to number the year of the war only in book 23. For possible explanations for his avoidance in book 22 of the usual later formula, see Introduction section 4(c).

34.1 consulibus ... imperium: for this introductory sentence as an ‘abstract’ of what is to come, see Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 212 and 215, for whom the larger Cannae narrative starts here, with the element of discord (*magno certamine*, see below) stressed at the outset as a significant aspect. For the successive elements of such a narrative ‘arc’, see 22.4–21 n.: the Abelux episode provided a simple example.

The existence of an *interregnum* did not prevent the senate from proroguing the *imperium* of the consuls of 217. Pol. (3.106.2) wrongly says that Aemilius Paullus appointed Servilius and Atilius as proconsuls; cf. 31.7n. From now on consuls regularly received proconsular *imperium* at the end of their term of office. **prodi:** the verb regularly used of the nomination of an *interrex*; cf. *TLL* VII 1.2265.6–9, 10.2.1627.64–7. *proditi sunt* in Briscoe’s OCT is an error. *proditius* (P) is a combination of *proditi* and *proditus* (cf. Heraeus 1885: 71). **patribus** ‘the patricians’; cf. 33.9–35.7n. **C. Claudius ... Asina:** the patricians name the first two *interreges*. At 5.31.8 there are three *interreges*, the second and third being nominated by their predecessor. Since at least two were always required (cf. 33.9–35.7n.), the patricians as a whole may have chosen both, subsequent ones, if required, being nominated by their predecessor. Moreover, reliable details are less likely to have survived for 390 than for 217, and even if 5.31.8 is reliable, the patricians of 217 may not have been aware of the procedure the last time an *interregnum* occurred. **C. Claudius Appi filius Centho:** (104). Consul in 240, he was a son of Ap. Claudius Caecus (by a late marriage; cf. Oakley 2005a: 357 n. 2 (part of long n. on 9.29.5–11)). In 213 he was appointed dictator to hold the elections (25.2.3). **P. Cornelius Asina:** (342). Consul in 221; a Cornelius Scipio, he was a first cousin of the consul of 218 (the father of Scipio Africanus; cf. 22.1n.). **magno certamine:** discord will be an important theme of the ensuing Cannae narrative, so is introduced emphatically here; see Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 215. **patrum:** here the senate as a whole; so also 34.2.

34.2 A brief but complex period, the structure of which is not immediately obvious. *C. Terentio Varroni* is emphatically placed at the beginning

of the sentence, far separated from *obstant*; *uolgens* and *patres* are in antithesis, but the former is the subject of the relative clause, the latter of the main clause. **C. Terentio ... hominem:** this opening sketch of Varro (there will be more later) is, in narratological terms, an 'orientation' (see 22.4-21n.): see Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 212-13. On Varro and his allegedly low origin, see 25.18-26.4nn. L.'s presentation of him is relentlessly hostile. **popularibusque artibus:** L. has in mind the *populares* of the late Republic, most of whom were *nobiles* (see 34.4n. for this term). **ab** 'as a result of'. **opibus ... concusso:** *concussis* is to be understood with *opibus*. For *ops* = 'influence', see OLD 2b. **aliena inuidia splendentem:** the phrase reoccurs at 38.53.7, of the Petillii and Scipio Africanus. **se ... sibi:** the reflexives refer to the subject of the main clause (*patres*). **aequari ... homines:** in fact Varro had held the praetorship in 219 (25.18, 26.3), probably defeating a *nobilis*, and though no all-plebeian consular college had ever been elected and the plebeian consuls were themselves overwhelmingly *nobiles*, *noui homines* (see 34.7-8n.) had been successful from time to time, most recently L. Apustius Fullo in 226 and Flaminius in 223.

34.3 Q. Baebius Herennius: (26). On the Baebii cf. Intro. p. 79. **tribunus plebis:** the tribunes entered office on 10 December and were thus unaffected by the delay in the election of the curule magistrates (see 26.3n. for this term). **cognatus C. Terenti:** by marriage, unless one or the other had been adopted. Plutarch (*Fab.* 7.5) says that Metilius (cf. 25.3n.) was a relative of Minucius, perhaps a confusion with the present passage. **per inuidiam ... conciliabat:** in a Roman election candidates were primarily concerned to promote their own merits and qualifications; modern parties normally spend more time attacking their opponents than advocating their own policies. **candidato suo** 'the candidate he was supporting'; the language is perfectly natural (cf., e.g., Cic. *Mil.* 88 *Caesaris potentiam suam esse dicebat*) and is not influenced by *candidati Caesaris*, the candidates nominated by Augustus (thus W-M).

34.4-11 L. himself, who in books 2-6 relates the constant accusations by tribunes that patricians were fomenting unnecessary wars, and with the *populares* of the late Republic in mind, is no doubt responsible for this powerful but highly implausible piece of rhetoric, though he may have been developing what stood in his source. (The notion that the *nobiles* (for this term see 34.4n.) deliberately provoked – thus too Varro himself at 38.6 – and prolonged the Hannibalic War is absurd; cf. the accusations against Fabius at 25.4 and of Publicius against the whole *nobilitas*

at 27.21.2.) Another Baebius (20), tribune in 200, makes similar accusations at 31.6.4; cf. Briscoe 1973: 71 (31.6.3–4n.); see Intro. p. 79. In 34.6 and 10 Baebius is made, probably deliberately, to say things which conflict with L.'s narrative. The speech contributes to L.'s hostile characterisation of Varro.

34.4 ab hominibus nobilibus: the term *nobilis*, 'known man', and *nobilitas* (35.2) came to acquire a semi-technical meaning when applied to Roman politics, although the Spaniard Abelux is also called a *nobilis* at 22.6 (and the word could just mean 'famous'; for Trasimene as a *nobilis pugna* see 7.1, cf. 43.9n.). The Roman *nobiles* formed a kind of 'new, increasingly plebeian, oligarchy': see *OCD*¹ '*nobilitas*'. Whether or not *nobilis* came to have the narrow sense 'descended from a consul (or comparable magistrate)' is not agreed. For: Gelzer 1969 and Shackleton Bailey 1986. Against: Brunt 1982, who reasserted the less exclusive view of Mommsen 1887–8: III 461–5 (descent from any curule magistrate; see 26.3n. for this term). For the argument, see *OCD*¹, as above. See also 39.1n. on *L. Aemili*.

34.5 uniuersis 'all together'; cf. *OLD* 3b. See 27.6–7nn., where Minucius proposes that he and Fabius should alternate command of the whole army (as at Cannae), but Fabius insists on dividing it between them. **pugnari posse** 'that it was possible to fight', i.e. that one man could command four legions. Conjectures to make L. say 'fight successfully' (see app.; W–M think that *pugnari* means 'fight with the prospect of victory') are misguided. **M. Minucius ... pugnasset:** 24nn.

34.6 See 29.6–30.7nn. There Minucius addresses Fabius as *pater*, his soldiers as *patroni*.

34.7 consules ... traxisse: cf. 32.1–4. **Fabianis artibus:** cf. 32.1n. **debellare:** cf. 41.3 and n. **id foedus ... ictum:** Baebius claims that all the *nobiles* had sworn a treaty to continue Fabius' strategy. **habituos:** Baebius' audience; the *oratio recta* would have been *habebitis*.

34.7–8 consulem ... coepisse: Baebius is right, in that the end of the Struggle of the Orders had produced a new patricio-plebeian nobility, not equality between the patricians and all plebeians (see, however, 34.2n. on *aequari ... homines*); Baebius claims that the plebeian *nobiles* had ceased to be real plebeians; only a plebeian who was not a *nobilis* would bring the war to an end.

34.7 *hominem nouum*: see, however, 34.2n. on *aequari ... homines*. A *homo nouus/novus homo* was a man none of whose ancestors had been a member of the senate; the terms *nobiles* (34.4n.) and *noui homines* are mutually exclusive but not jointly exhaustive: men with an ancestor who had been a senator but not held the consulship (consulship, praetorship or curule aedileship, according to Brunt 1982) were neither one nor the other.

34.8 *eisdem initiatos esse sacris*: this refers to the admission of plebeians to the pontifical and augural colleges, under the *lex Ogulnia* of 300 BC. ***contemnere ... coepisse*:** here the reference is to the augurs' declaration that the election of Philo and Matho had been faulty (cf. 33.12n.). See Smith 2006: 330. ***contemni patribus*** 'to be an object of contempt for the patricians'. For the dative of the agent cf. Pinkster 2015: 219.

34.9 *patrum*: the patricians, who alone could be *interreges* and conduct the elections. In fact, as this case shows, they could by no means determine the result.

34.10 *id ... quaesisse*: in fact Servilius and Atilius said that it would be unsafe to leave only one of them to face Hannibal (33.10), not that there was not time for one of them to return to Rome to conduct the elections. ***id postea ... expugnatum*:** the causal clause widely splits *id postea* and *expugnatum*, but that does not justify emendation (see app.). For the metaphorical use of *expugnare* ('achieve'), cf. Oakley 1997: 544 (6.18.2n.). ***uitiosus dictator*:** the predicate is placed before the subject for emphasis. 8.23.14 also with *dictator*, is the only other place where L. writes *uitiosus*.

34.11 As the polyptoton (1.3n.) *habere ... habiturum* shows, the contrast is between the patricians, who have the *interregnum* they want, and the people, who will elect a plebeian consul who will achieve victory; *consulatum ... esse* gives the reason for the people's ability to do this (it is therefore better to punctuate with a colon after *eos*, to make it clear that the three clauses are not all on the same level (which is why L. does not use *habere* three times)). For the same reason P's *esset* should be corrected to *esse*, not *esse et* (see app.). ***consulatum ... esse*:** the most plausible interpretation of the evidence is that the *leges Liciniae Sextiae* of 367 BC removed the ban on plebeians holding the consulship, while the *lex Genucia* of 342 provided that at least one consul should be plebeian; no all-plebeian consular college held office until 172, though in 215 M. Claudius Marcellus was elected as suffect consul when the surviving consul was another plebeian,

but was declared *uitio creatus* by the augurs (23.31.12–14); cf. Oakley 1997: 652–4 (part of long n. on 6.34.1). Baebius is content to accept the *status quo*. **populum liberum habiturum** ‘a free people would possess it’, not ‘the people meant to keep it free’ (Foster). L. here correctly writes *populum*, not *plebem*: the consuls were elected by the *comitia centuriata*, an assembly of the *populus* containing both patricians and plebeians. **mature**: see app. P has *magis uere* but (i) the pleonasm *magis malle* is not attested before Gellius (cf. *TLL* VIII 204.1–12); (ii) *uere* implies a contrast with something which was not a real victory, and the only person to whom that could apply is Minucius (see 24): deletion of either *magis* or *uere*, therefore does not solve the problem. Stiehl’s conjecture, plausible enough in itself, provides an apt double antithesis, *mature* with *diu*, *uincere* with *imperare*.

35.1–2 tribus patriciis ... augur erat: unusually, L. provides a complete list of candidates; cf. 35.10.2–3 (consular elections for 192), 35.24.4 (consular elections for 191; patrician candidates only), 37.57.10 (censorial elections, 189), 39.40.2–3 (censorial elections, 184).

35.1 P. Cornelio Merenda: (266). Not otherwise known. **L. Manlio Volstone**: (92). Cf. 33.7n. **M. Aemilio Lepido**: (19, 67). Praetor in 218; cf. 21.49.6, 51.7.

35.2 duobus ... plebeiis: *iam* (see app.) emphasises that at this date a limited number of plebeian families had been ennobled (*nobiles iam* occurs at 34.8, but there *iam* goes with what follows). The Atilii had held eleven consulships, the first in 335; the first Aelius to do so was C. Aelius Paetus, in 286. **alter pontifex, alter augur**: Atilius was the *augur*, Aelius the *pontifex* (cf. 23.21.7); chiasmus is frequent with *alter ... alter*. On Atilius cf. Briscoe 2012a: 112 (41.21.8–9n.). **C. Terentius ... creatur**: the *interrex*, presumably, put the names of the three patrician candidates, Atilius and Aelius, successively, to the *comitia*, which rejected them all. He then put that of Varro, who secured a majority of the centuries and was elected. **ut ... collegae**: i.e. Varro would conduct the election of the patrician consul; L. does not mean that he could control the result. Nor does it follow that as soon as one candidate had been elected in an *interregnum*, he, not the *interrex*, conducted the rest of the proceedings. For *rogare* of an election (the *comitia* is being asked for a magistrate), see *OLD rogo* 5c.

35.3 tum experta ... eius: none of the patrician candidates had sufficient support to receive a ‘Yes’ vote from a majority of the centuries.

In a normal election, if no candidate obtained an absolute majority of the centuries, the least well supported candidate(s) would withdraw, leaving the top two candidates with a straight fight (cf. 37.47.7). **L. Aemilium Paullum ... euaserat:** Paullus (118) and M. Livius (33) Salinator were consuls in 219, when they defeated Demetrius of Pharos in the Second Illyrian War. Paullus, who was an ambassador to Carthage in 218 (21.18.1), was the father of the consul of 182 and 168 (114), the conqueror of Perseus in the Third Macedonian War. Both consuls were accused of embezzlement; Livius (33) was convicted but Paullus narrowly escaped (see also 40.3, 49.11). Livius retired to the country after his condemnation, until he was brought back by the consuls of 210 and forced to change his squalid appearance and take his seat in the senate by the censors of the same year (27.34.3–7). He was elected to a second consulship for 207, together with C. Claudius Nero, a bitter enemy since he had testified against Livius at his trial (27.35.7, 29.37.10); together they defeated Hasdrubal at the Metaurus. **et damnatione ... euaserat:** for a full discussion see Briscoe 2018: 68–9. There is no other instance of *ambustus* being used of a defendant who, though not convicted, emerged from a trial with his reputation damaged (there is no manuscript authority for attaching the heading *amb(ust.)* to the last two *exempla* in Valerius Maximus 8 ch. 1). For a long time *prope*, naturally, was taken with *et sua*, but it is hard to believe that *damnatione ... prope sua* can mean ‘his own coming close to condemnation’ and *prope* should be taken with *ambustus*, the phrase either meaning ‘almost burnt all over’ or being the sort of pleonasm by which L. combines *prope* and compounds of *semi*. **diu ac multum recusantem:** Paullus’ refusal was intense and continued for a long time.

35.4 The *lex Genucia* of 342 prohibited re-election to the consulship without a full ten years interval (7.42.2), but earlier in 217 the provision had been suspended for the duration of the war (27.6.7). **comitali die:** the *comitia* could meet only on predetermined days, marked as *C* in the *Fasti*. **concedentibus omnibus:** the three patricians (35.1): they realised they had no chance against Paullus. **par magis in aduersandum** ‘more as an equal to oppose’. A gladiatorial image, cf. 39.4n.: the conflict between Varro and Paullus is a central motif in both Fabius’ speech in ch. 39 and the Cannae narrative. For *in* with the accusative of the gerund(ive), cf. 61.2, 21.21.10, Ov. *Pont.* 2.10.37. See app.

35.5–6 Praetorian elections. The number of praetors had been increased to four in, probably, 227 (cf. *Per.* 20, Brennan 2000: 91–3). L. has not listed the praetors of 218 and 217, and it is possible that he did not do so for the

years covered in book 20. Hereafter L.'s practice is to list all the praetors elected and subsequently the provinces allotted to them, and it is likely that this reflects the regular procedure. Here, though, he implies that an election was first held for the two city praetors, who drew lots for the urban and peregrine praetorships, then for the praetors to command in Sicily and Gaul: this is probably misleading, a result of L.'s not yet having decided how to present the results of praetorian elections.

Normally, one of the praetors governed Sardinia, but because of the need for a praetor in northern Italy, A. Cornelius Mammula remained in Sardinia (cf. 23.21.4 and 6).

35.5 M. Pomponius Matho: cf. 7.8n. **P. Furius <Philus>:** (80); cf. 53.4, 55.1, 57.8nn.; *MRR* I 248, 253 n. 1 and 259 (for his censorship in 214, cf. 61.9n.). He had been consul in 223. **Philo ... euenit:** L. refers to the two city praetorships in a variety of ways (for books 41–45 see Briscoe 2012a: 772; *sors* occurs also at 23.30.18, 24.44.2, 25.3.2, 30.40.5, 35.41.6). The official title was *praetor qui inter ciues/peregrinos ius dicit*; L.'s formulation is an expansion of *inter ciues et peregrinos*, first found in the Principate. For the functions of the peregrine praetor at this time, cf. Briscoe 2012b. **iuri dicundo:** the archaic form of the gerundive is regular in this phrase; cf. Briscoe 1981: 124 (34.48.2n.). **M. Claudius Marcellus:** (220). The first mention in the third decade of one of the leading figures of the Hannibalic War, elected consul five times and best known for his capture of Syracuse. He held his first consulship in 222, when he won the *spolia opima*. **L. Postumius Albinus:** (40). He had been consul in 234 and 229. He was killed in Gaul while consul designate for 215 (23.24.6–13).

35.7 omnes: both the consuls and the praetors. **absentes creati:** candidature in absence was not prohibited at this time (it was a major issue in the events that led to the civil war between Caesar and Pompey), but a candidate who was absent without good cause was not likely to commend himself to the electors. **nec cuiquam ... gessisset:** in fact at least three of the praetors were *consulares*. **praeteritis ... uiris:** with the exception of 211, in every year from 216 until 207 at least one consul had held the office before, so that many men who would normally have reached the consulship failed to do so. **fortibus ac strenuis:** the coupling (cf. *OLD strenuus* 1b) is extremely common in L.; cf. Packard 1968: IV 769.

36.1–5 For the actual size of Roman forces in 216, see Intro. section 10 pp. 82 and 84, and for a full discussion of the textual problem, Briscoe 2018: 70.

L. apparently distinguishes three groups of writers, those who said that 10,000 new troops were raised, others that the number of legions was doubled from four to eight, with an increase in the numbers in each legion, and some who said that the total number in the Roman camp at Cannae was 87,200. Perizonius correctly argued that the figures given by the second and third groups were in fact identical: eight legions each consisting of 5,000 infantry and 300 cavalry plus allied contingents of 5,000 infantry and 600 cavalry (Pol. 3.107.9 talks of eight legions with 5,000 men each). An infinitive is missing in 36.4, and Perizonius changed *est quidam* to *fuisse*, believing that L. referred to only one group of historians, who gave both the numbers in each legion and the total. It is much more likely that some did one, some the other, and Madvig rightly added *fuisse* after *Romanis* (a scribe's eye moved from the first *-is* to the second, with subsequent omission of *se*).

Pol. (3.113.5) says that the Roman forces at Cannae consisted of 80,000 infantry and a little more than 6,000 cavalry; *quidam*, therefore, cannot refer to Pol. (thus W–M).

36.1 ausus sim: the perfect subjunctive is potential; cf. 8.18.3; K–St I 178.

36.4 cum pugnatum ad Cannas est: L.'s first mention of Cannae in the third decade. For the prolepsis (not an emotionally significant one), see Introduction p. 57 n. 142. Discussion of battle and battle-site is postponed until 40.4–50.3n., and for the village of Cannae, see 43.10n. on *prope eum uicum*.

36.5 haudquaquam discrepat: for *discrepare* of variants in L.'s sources, sometimes, as here to indicate matters on which they are in agreement, cf. Oakley 1998: 770 (8.40.2n.).

36.6–8 Prodigies

Cf. 1.8–20n. This list, though it precedes Cannae and even Pol. (3.112.8–9) mentions prodigies at this point, is very short. Levene, who at one time merely expressed surprise at the brevity of the list (1993: 48), now (2019) thinks that L. was indicating that Varro, unlike Flaminius, was not impious. It is more likely that he wanted to avoid a second long list in book 22 (see 1.8–20), perhaps spoiling the effect of Fabius' speech in 39 by further delaying the narrative of the battle itself. Cf. 57.2n.

36.6 ceterum: resumptive, following the digression on troop numbers; cf. Oakley 1998: 411 (8.3.8n.). **decemuiri:** cf. 1.17n. **propter territos ...**

nouis prodigiis 'because people had been terrified ... by new prodigies'; the equivalent of *propter noua prodigia quae homines terruerunt*. Cf. the very similar language at 21.46.1.

36.7 Auentino: cf. 1.17n. Ariciae: mod. Ariccia (*Barr.* map 43C3), on the Via Appia c.25km. SE of Rome; cf. Briscoe 1981: 156–7 (35.9.4n.). *lapidibus pluuisse*: cf. 1.9n. *cruore ... manasse*: cf. 1.8n. *Sabinis*: cf. 12.1n. †*caedest* †*aquas fonte calidas manasse*: for full discussion see Briscoe 2018: 70–1. This clause contains two, separate, problems. (i) *caedes* makes no sense and is probably a corruption of a place name or ethnic, parallel to *in Sabinis*. *Caeretes*, *Caere* and various forms of a place near Suessa called Caedicii have been proposed. (ii) P has *fonte callidos*. Obviously a form of *calidus* ('warm'), not *callidus* ('clever'), is required, and the best solution is to read *fonte calidas* (A, but adding *-que e* before *fonte*).

36.8 *uia ... erat*: a road consisting of a series of arches. Cf. Coarelli, *LTUR* V 137–8, suggesting that it is identical with the *uia Tecta* and the *porticus Maximae*. If so, *erat* does not show that the road no longer existed in L.'s time, and perhaps L. did not intend it thus. *ad Campum erat* means 'was by the Campus', not 'used to lead to the Campus' (Foster), though no doubt it did. *aliquot ... fuerant*: cf. 1.9n. *de caelo tacti* 'struck by lightning'.

36.9 Paesto: Paestum (*Barr.* map 44G5, *OCD*⁴) was the name of the Latin colony founded on the site of Posidonia in 273 (*Per.* 14); the remains of its Greek temples make it a popular tourist location; cf. Oakley 1998: 590 (8.17.9n.). It is remarkable that a colony should have sent an embassy of this sort to Rome. The golden bowls perhaps belonged to the original Greek inhabitants, who had been expelled by the Lucanians, the latter in turn by Rome (Strabo 6.1.1, p. 252C = 5.4.13 in the Loeb ed.). In 210 Paestum contributed ships to the Roman fleet (26.39.5) and in 209 remained loyal when twelve Latin colonies refused to provide soldiers and money (27.9.7–10.10). *iis, ... non acceptum*: cf. 32.9n.

37 Embassy from Hiero

Hiero II, ruler (first as tyrant, then as king) of Syracuse since c.275 (cf. *HCP* 54–5), supported Carthage at the beginning of the First Punic War but was defeated by the Romans and came to terms with them, remaining a loyal ally thereafter. L. mentioned him at 21.49.3, 50.7, 51.1. His death in 215 led to the convulsions at Syracuse which occupy a large part of

books 24 and 25. Val. Max. 4.8. ext. 1 relates, from L., this episode; see 37.5n. W–M begin the year 216 here, but see above, n. after 33.12.

37.1 ab Hierone classis ‘a fleet sent by Hiero’. **Ostia:** cf. 11.6n.

37.3 probe sciat: cf. 15.1n. **admirabiliorem ... esse:** for Roman reaction to adversity cf. 42.62.11; Briscoe 2012a: 370.

37.4–8 In 37.4 the reflexives (*se ... se*) refer to Hiero, i.e. the ambassadors are reporting what Hiero had said, but in 5 *sese* are the ambassadors; in 6–8, though there is no reflexive the ambassadors are the subject of *aduexisse*; in 7 and 8, however, Hiero is again the subject. Perhaps L. did not give much thought to the syntax of the passage.

37.4 bella iuuari: for activities etc. as the object of *iuuare*, cf. *OLD* *iuuo* 2.

37.5 ominis causa: cf. 12 *omenque accipere*. L. looks forward, beyond Cannae, to Rome’s eventual victory. **Victoriam auream:** a gold statue of Victoria. Val. Max. thinks that Hiero sent gold in the form of the statue of a goddess in order to inhibit the senate from rejecting the gift. **propriam** ‘as their own’ (Foster).

37.7 milite: legionary infantry. **uidisse ... Romanis:** during the First Punic War, though Hiero did not take any active part in it.

37.8 mille ... funditorum: for slingers see 4.3n. Pol. 3.75.7 says that in 217 Hiero sent 500 Cretans and 1,000 peltasts. Niese (1893–1903: II 511 n. 1; but cf. *HCP* 409 and Lazenby 1978: 66) may have been right that L. wrongly transferred the present passage from 217. Sil. 8.613 talks of 3,000 (see app.).

37.9 classem ... summittenda: a full-scale invasion rather than the raid of 31.1–5.

37.10 uno tenore ‘uninterruptedly’; cf. Briscoe 1981: 169 (35.16.8n.).

37.11 ciuitatibus quibusdam: Naples and Paestum, see 32.4, 36.9 and nn. **gratia** ‘goodwill’.

37.12 Victoriam omenque accipere: possessing a statue of Victoria was an omen of victory. *accipere* is used in a double sense, since *omen accipere* was the standard phrase for acknowledging an omen; cf. Oakley 2005a: 160 (9.14.8n.). **dare dicare:** cf. 5.18.5 *do dicoque*, Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.67 *dare donare dicare*, *CIL* 3.1933 *do dico dedicoque*. **sacratam ... stabilem:**

sacratam (sc. *eam*) is the subject of *fore*, *uolentem propitiamque* attributive and *firmam ac stabilem* predicative. **uolentem propitiamque:** for the coupling, sometimes in asyndeton, see Briscoe 2008: 279 (39.16.11n.).

37.13 ad <...> nauium: L. must have given the number of ships, but what that number was is quite uncertain (see app.), and the only safe course is merely to indicate a lacuna. **quae cum ... in Sicilia:** L. has not previously mentioned this, though the fleet itself may be identical with the one mentioned at 21.51.6. Otacilius (cf. 10.10n.) was last mentioned at 31.6. **si ... esse:** cf. 11.2n.

38.2–5 *The military oath.* There is no other evidence for this innovation, but equally no reason to doubt its historicity. L. says that previously the soldiers had sworn only that they would assemble when ordered to do so by the consuls and not leave without their permission (this is the oath administered by the military tribunes at the time of the levy: Pol. 6.21.1–3). In addition both cavalry and infantry swore on their own initiative not to leave in order to flee or because of fear nor to leave their position except to pick up or search for a weapon, to strike an enemy or save a citizen; the latter now became a formal oath administered by the tribunes (i.e. on campaign).

38.3 ad decuriandum aut centuriandum: for full discussion see Briscoe 2018: 71–2. A *centuria* is the smallest infantry unit, but *decuria* is used of cavalry only at Varr. *Ling.* 5.91; equestrian *decuriones*, however, are widely attested. P has *ad decuriatum aut centuriatum*, and Madvig emended to gerunds; P's reading results from anticipation of the following participles.

38.4 teli sumendi aut petendi 'recovering or attempting to recover a weapon'; conjectures (see app.) are misguided. **et:** strictly illogical (a corrector of C deleted it): *teli sumendi aut petendi*, *hostis ferendi* and *ciuis seruandi* are the three allowable reasons for leaving one's position. But the illogicality is L.'s, who wanted to distinguish *aut* before *petendi* from the two which follow.

38.5 It is unclear whether the decision was taken by senate or people. *legitimam* here means 'regular' (cf. *OLD* 4a) and is not an indication that a law was passed.

38.6–12 *Contiones of Varro and Paullus*

L. sets the scene for the long speech of Fabius in 39 with a brief report (though Varro receives more space than Paullus) of the conflicting *contiones* of the consuls.

38.6 denuntiantis ‘declaring’. *denuntiare* never means ‘denounce’. **arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus**: Varro repeats the accusation made by Metilius at 34.4; cf. n. there. **uisceribus** ‘the bowels’. The metaphor recurs four times in books 32–34 (32.21.18 and 27; 33.44.8; 34.48.6); cf. Briscoe 1973: 334 (33.44.8n.), arguing that it stood in Pol., which cannot be true here.

38.7 plures Fabios imperatores ‘more commanders like Fabius’. **se**: emphatically placed at the beginning of the clause.

38.8 uerius quam gratior: his audience did not like what Paullus said, but it was the truth. **nihil ... id modo**: Paullus did not attack Varro, but emphasised the absurdity of his promise to finish the war on the first day he caught sight of Hannibal.

38.9 †quod ne qui†: for full discussion see Briscoe 2018: 72–3. Paullus says he is amazed that Varro knows what he is going to do on the battlefield before he has even left Rome. The obelised words, which make no sense, connect *mirari se* and *dux ... dimicaturus*, and whatever L. wrote has to govern both *sciret* and *praedicere posset*. C–W printed Zachariae’s *quidni, qui*, omitting *et*, so that *quidni* goes with the latter, *qui* with the former, but L. does not write *quidni* elsewhere, and it should not be introduced by conjecture. *quod* alone would make perfect sense but it is hard to see how *ne qui* arose. **locorum situm** ‘the lie of the land’ (Foster). **togatus**: on campaign the toga was replaced by the *paludamentum* (military cloak), though the toga was often worn in camp; cf. 54.2n.

38.10 diem ... qua: *dies* fem. because it is the end of a period of time. **signis conlatis**: in a pitched battle.

38.11 se: contrasting with 7 *se* and again in emphatic position. **consilia ... dent**: cf. 23.24.2 *capere*. **homines rebus**: things cannot have plans, but Paullus means that Varro is putting the cart before the horse. **caute ac consulte ... prospere**: these are key words in the book. *inconsulte* is combined with *temere* at 43.1 (and 2.37.6), and with *incaute* at 4.37.8 and 25.18.2. See also 12.12n. on *pro cauto timidum* and 23.3n. on *prospero euentu*.

38.11–12 caute ac consulte ... temeritatem: *temeritas*, related words and their opposites occur frequently in both Fabius’ speech in ch. 39 and in the Cannae narrative; see Oakley 2019: 166. See 3.4n. and Introduction section 7(e).

38.12 temeritatem: see 3.4n. It would have been more logical if L. had written *celeritatem* (cf. 31.32.2): no one would claim that rashness was sensible, and Varro could reply that he was not being rash. **ad id locorum** ‘up to that point’. The phrase is an archaism taken over from Sallust by L.; cf. Oakley 2005a: 590–1 (9.45.2n.); in 38.9 L. had used *locorum* in its normal sense.

38.13–39.22 *Fabius Advises Aemilius Paullus*

Sil. 8.297–326 and Plut. *Fab.* 14.4–6 (Paullus’ reply in §7) give similar versions of Fabius’ speech, though Plutarch is far briefer than L., the probable source of both: see below. Pol. (3.108.1) mentions only the senate as a whole encouraging Paullus, but this does not necessarily mean he was unaware of any role played by Fabius: he could have found something of the sort in Fabius Pictor but have chosen to ignore it. Appian (*Hann.* 17.75, 18.78) talks of the Romans/people urging the consuls to bring the war to an end on the battlefield.

By *fertur* (38.13) L. may be indicating that Fabius’ speech is modelled on what stood in a predecessor, but there can be no doubt that it is his own composition: it is inconceivable that Fabius could have spoken to Paullus at such inordinate and discursive length when he was on the point of leaving Rome for the battlefield (38.13 *profiscentem*, 40.1 *ab hoc sermone profectum*). W–M (similarly Ullmann 1927: 95) thought that L.’s source was Coelius, whose history certainly contained speeches (cf. *FRHist* I 262), and that the versions of Silius and Plutarch independently derived from Coelius. While Silius sometimes used a historical source other than L., it is more likely to have been Valerius Antias than Coelius (cf. Klotz, *RE* IIIA 85–8); in this case, however, there is no reason to doubt that L. is the source of both Silius and Plutarch. It may be, though, that *fertur* is deliberately misleading and that no speech stood in his source; cf. Briscoe 2008: 163 (38.47.1n.).

Part of the effect of this lengthy speech is to retard the narrative of the battle of Cannae, and thus increase suspense (cf. Burck 1962: 93), but the main and more obvious aims are to present the superiority of Fabian tactics (Hoyos 2006: 645), to evaluate the personalities of the two consuls (Burck 1962: 95, cf. Buijs 2019: 279) and to reprise that well-established type, the wise warner, who goes back via Th.’s Archidamus or Nicias (cf. Rodgers 1986: 336) and Hdt.’s Artabanus, to Polydamas’ advice to Hector in the *Iliad*, on which see Rutherford 2019: 148 (18.249–52n.), explicitly comparing Fabius in L. For other examples, see Oakley 2005a: 68–9 (9.3.4–13n., on Herennius Pontius).

In book 27, which in various ways balances 22 (Introduction section 4(b)), Fabius will again urge caution on an already cautious commander, M. Livius Salinator, for whom see 40.3n. (On 27.40.8–9 see Levene 2010: 191–2, noting the differences as well as the similarities: Livius actually oscillates between caution and rashness.) At 49.10, the seriously wounded Paullus tells Cn. Lentulus, a military tribune, to report to Fabius that he has lived and dies remembering his advice.

The main part of the speech (39.9–18) presents a series of arguments in favour of continuing the Fabian strategy, preceded by a proem (1–3) and a summary statement (4–8), and followed by a conclusion (19–22). One clear division within 39.9–18 is that Fabius claims (39.10) that the correct strategy is shown by both *euentus* (outcome) and *ratio* (reasoning); the latter is dealt with in 39.11–15, the former in 39.16–17 (W–M). Ullmann 1927: 95–6 offers a detailed analysis of the whole speech on these lines, but he subdivides 9–18 (the ‘*tractatio*’) in a different, arbitrary and schematic way. On the faults of Ullmann’s divisions of speeches, see Briscoe 1973: 17–22. See also Luce 1993, and for another treatment of the speech, see Buijs 2019: 276–9.

The speech echoes Ennius’ famous lines about Fabius (*Ann.* 363–5 Sk), esp. at 39.18; see n. there on *resistes* See Hardie 2012: 259–62 and Oakley 2019: 164 n. 21, citing Skutsch 1985: 530–1 for Badian’s suggestion (1972: 176), approved by Skutsch, that Ennius’ lines were delivered by Aemilius Paullus in his Ligurian campaign of 181 BC. If so, L. makes Fabius address this Paullus in language which recalls words spoken in Ennius by Paullus’ son about Fabius himself.

For an analysis of the style of the opening part of the speech, see Introduction section 6 pp. 28–9. The rest contains a large number of matters of stylistic interest, detailed in the notes that follow, many of which were drawn to our attention by Jim Adams. L. clearly devoted particular attention to speeches, and it is not surprising that these features cluster in them. Of particular note is the amount of asyndeton in 39.11–15; L. employs asyndeton mainly in speeches.

38.13 et ... praepositurum: because of what Paullus had said at his *contio* (38.8–12). **et:** a clearly correct emendation: it was already clear that Paullus would be cautious and, what is more, Fabius added his own arguments. **sua sponte** ‘of his own accord’, without the need for Fabius’ advice. **tuta celeribus:** for the sentiment cf. 9.32.3 *celeriores quam tutiores consilia magis placere ducibus*, 31.32.2 *rem magni discriminis consiliis nullam esse tam inimicam quam celeritatem*, with the notes of Oakley (2005a: 416–17) and Briscoe (1973: 138) respectively. **id ... perseueraret** ‘continue in that course’. For the neuter accusative of a pronoun with intransitive verbs, cf. K–St I 279–80; it occurs with *perseuerare* also at Cornelia *epist.*

fr. 2, Cic. *Quinct.* 76, *Verr.* 2.4.85 (cf. *TLL* X 1.1700.14–21). **sic ... adlocutus fertur**: see p. 265 above.

39.1–3 si aut ... aut ... nunc: The two hypothetical alternatives which would make Fabius' speech redundant (Varro being similar to the cautious Paullus, or Paullus being similar to the rash Varro) are explained in the second sentence: in the first case the two consuls would act as they should without the need for Fabius to tell them to do so, in the second his advice would fall on deaf ears.

The leisurely opening rhetorical ploy of the double hypothetical conditional creates a reassuring impression of considered thoughtfulness and willingness to entertain hypothetical futures. Cf. Fabius again at 28.41.2 (near the start of the dialogue with Scipio). Single hypothetical conditionals at start of speeches: 60.6–7 (Manlius Torquatus); 34.2.1 (Cato on the *lex Oppia*) and 34.5.1–2 (Valerius' reply to Cato); 34.31.1–2 and again 3–4 (Nabis); 42.1.41 (Perseus' reply to Q. Marcius Philippus); cf. also Metilius at 25.10, inside a speech in *oratio obliqua*. Elsewhere, cf. Sall. *frag.* 3.48 M. (opening of the speech of Macer) and perhaps Cic. *Vat.* 1. For Classical Greek models, cf. Th. 3.61.1 (Theban speech); Dem. 4.1 and 27.1. The listener/reader is always 'regretfully' brought back to reality by *nunc* or an equivalent term; see 39.3n.

39.1 id quod mallem: for these words after *si*, cf. Ov. *Her.* 21.35–7 (with following *nunc*), *Trist.* 2.239–40. **L. Aemili**: the consul's 'three names' (his *tria nomina*) are Lucius (*praenomen*) Aemilius (*nomen* or *gentilicium*) Paullus (*cognomen*). At 39.4 and 17 Fabius addresses him as *L. Paulle*. Dickey (2007: 68–9) says that there is no 'significant difference in tone' between these two forms of address: in both Livy and Cicero the combination *praenomen* + *cognomen* – as '*L. Paulle*' – is reserved for *nobiles* (34.4n.); but *nobiles* can also be addressed by *praenomen* + *gentilicium* (so that Paullus is called 'L. Aemili' here). The latter combination is by far the commonest in Livy (89% of instances, according to Dickey). There is probably no motive for the variation. Varro is referred to by *praenomen* + *gentilicium* in 39.4, by *cognomen* alone in 39.5; when a *novus homo* reached the consulship he ennobled his descendants, but it is unclear whether he himself became a *nobilis*; in any case, L. would not have wanted to make Fabius refer to him in a way which suggested that he was of the same status as the patrician consul.

39.2 indicente: a manifestly correct emendation. *indicente* = *non dicente* occurs elsewhere only at Ter. *Ad.* 507; *indictus* 'not said', however, is common. L–S, K–St, H–S, *TLL* and *OLD* all fail to mention the usage. L. may have intended it as an archaism. **e re publica fide uestra** 'in accordance with the interests of the state and your good faith'. The asyndeton

should probably be retained in this formulaic phrase, even though *e re publica fideque sua* occurs at 25.7.4, 29.10.3 and 33.31.5. **auribus ... animis:** for the coupling cf. 42.14.2.

39.3 nunc ‘as it is’, the equivalent of Greek νῦν δέ; see *OLD* 11 and cf. 39.1–3n.

uirum bonum et ciuem: conjunct hyperbaton; cf. 1.1n. Similarly 39.6 *castra uideat aut hostem*. **si altera parte claudente re publica:** for *claudere* ‘limp’, in Classical Latin used literally only at Lucil. 250, cf. *TLL* III 1297.68–1298.12. The idea that if one of the two consuls is less than satisfactory, the state will be lame, recalls the ambiguous application of the lameness metaphor to the double Spartan kingship in the Apolline oracle cited by the Spartan seer Diopeithes at Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.3–4: ‘beware the lame (χωλή) kingship’. Agesilaus was literally lame, but his supporter Lysander successfully interpreted it as a warning against electing a non-Heraclid as one of the two kings. For L.’s knowledge of Xenophon, see p. 53 n. 132. **iuris ac potestatis:** the two consuls had equal *imperium*.

39.4–5 hic ... ille ... illo ... hoc: for *hic ... ille* meaning ‘former ... latter’, in reverse of the normal usage, cf. Briscoe 1981: 371 (37.51.2–3n.). Levene (2010: 189 n. 57), however, thinks that in 39.4 *hic* is Hannibal and *ille* Varro, and that L. is paradoxically implying that Varro is the *hostis*, while Hannibal is merely the *aduersarius*. That is out of the question: in 39.5 *illo* is manifestly Hannibal, *hoc* is Varro, and the pronouns must have the same reference on both occasions.

39.4 L. Paulle: cf. 39.1n. **minus certaminis cum C. Terentio ... censes:** almost exactly as at Plut. *Fab.* 14.5, where ἄγών, ‘contest’, represents *certamen*. This picks up the gladiatorial images of 35.4, *par magis maneat:* P has *maneat et* and subsequent editors have, some with further changes, adopted Madvig’s *te*. Briscoe’s OCT retained the reading of the *editio princeps*, perhaps wrongly, taking *maneat* to mean ‘remains’, now that Paullus and Varro are together as military commanders rather than political opponents in Rome, and thinking that Varro could not be said to be waiting for Paullus when the two consuls were to leave Rome together.

39.5 equitibus ac peditibus: on the word order, far less frequent than the reverse, cf. Briscoe 2012a: 530–1 (44.21.8n.).

39.6 ominis ... absit: for the phrase, no doubt of colloquial origin, cf., e.g., Ov. *Am.* 1.14.41, *OLD* *omen* 2b. **C. Flamini memoria:** the first of

the speech's *exempla* (historical examples); for L.'s general fondness for these, see Chaplin 2000. But the *exempla* in the present speech are confined to the immediate past of the war against Hannibal; contrast Manlius Torquatus' speech at 60. This may be designed to represent Fabius as being, despite his didactic prolixity, at least partially aware of the urgency of the situation. On Flaminius cf. 1.5–7n.

The message of 39.6–8 is 'don't repeat Trasimene!' (chs. 3–7); but the fateful name *Trasumennus* is held back until the end of the passage. **tamen ille consul ... furere:** inconsistent with 9.7, where Fabius tells the senate that the disaster at Trasimene was the result of Flaminius' neglect of religion, which must refer to his actions both as consul designate, related at 21.63, and in office. **priusquam ... peteret ... uideat ... insanit:** L. regularly uses *priusquam* and *antequam* with the subjunctive (cf. Briscoe 1981: 72 (34.10.6n.)); the present *uideat* conveys the sense of 'can see' (cf. W–M, K–St II 368). *insaniit* is to be understood with the first *priusquam* clause.

39.7 tantas ... ciet 'the man who can stir up such mighty storms among civilians with his boasting of battles and armies'. Since *acies* can also mean 'battles', the words joined by *atque* are almost a pleonasm. The ref. is to the *contiones* aggressively addressed by Varro at 38.6–8; and the essential point here is the contrast with the young soldiers (*armatam iuuentutem*) about to be mentioned: 'if that's the effect he has on civilians, how much worse will it be when he addresses ...'.

proelia ... iactando should be marked off with commas, making it clear that *tantas procellas* is the object of *ciet* and that this is not the military use of *procella* (cf. Briscoe 1981: 151 (35.5.9n.); 2012a: 421 (43.11.6n.); Oakley 2005b: 78 (10.5.7n.)).

39.8 aut ego ... cladibus erit: either I lack military understanding (sc. and Varro will be successful) or (sc. I possess it and) we shall suffer a worse defeat than Trasimene. **nobilior** 'more famous'; this looks forward to 43.9, *nobilitandas*.

39.9 nec ... unum est: this is not the right time for Fabius to boast about the success of his own strategy. **contemnendo ... gloriam:** for Epicurean contempt for glory cf. Cic. *Pis.* 56, with Nisbet 1961: 117; cf. Val. Max. 8.14 praef. **excesserim** 'I would rather go too far'. **una ratio ... qua ego gessi:** here *ratio* means something like 'strategy'; see next n. Levene 2010: 197 comments '[i]n the context of Cannae Fabius is clearly correct, but as the debate in Book 28 [between Fabius and Scipio] will show, his approach is misguidedly narrow in the context of the war as

a whole'. But by 205 the situation had changed; Hannibal had effectively been defeated in Italy, and the time was ripe for an invasion of Africa.

39.10 euentus ... ratio 'outcome ... reasoning'. **stultorum iste magister:** the bold metaphor for *euentus* may be suggested by Thucydides' famous authorial comparison of war to a 'violent schoolmaster', βίαιος διδάσκαλος, 3.82.2; perhaps there is also an allusion to Th. 1.140.1 (Pericles): events (αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν πραγμάτων) turn out unteachably, ἀμαθῶς. For *ratio* cf. 39.21n. The sense here is not exactly the same as that of *ratio* in 39.9, where it meant 'method', almost 'strategy'. The strategy is adopted as a result of the reasoning. It is not uncommon for Latin writers to repeat a word, sometimes deliberately, in a different or somewhat different sense; for L. cf. Briscoe 2008: 11. For *ratio* in the sense of *consilium*, *propositum* ('policy'), cf. *TLL* XI 2.181.20–182.75, though they do not cite any military passages. **fuit futuraque:** for repetition of a verb in a different tense, cf. Wills 1996: 298–310; there is another example in 39.11 *iuuant iuuabuntque*. **immutabilis:** the only instance of the word in L.; it is frequent in Cicero's philosophical works.

39.11–15 This passage contains a remarkable amount of asyndeton, an indication of carefully composed rhetoric; see the following nn.

39.11 sede ac solo: alliterative coupling, not attested elsewhere. The first word hints at the *sedere* theme, see 39.15n. **armis uiris equis commeatibus:** for *arma uiri equi(que)*, cf. Briscoe 1981: 208 (35.44.5n.). The addition of a fourth member to the *asyndeton trimembre* is unparalleled. **iuuant iuuabuntque:** see 39.10n. The subject is *socii*, understood from *ciuium ac sociuorum*.

39.12 meliores prudentiores constantiores: *asyndeton trimembre* (see Introduction section 6 pp. 31–2). The reference is to the army, not to Romans as a whole. For the *prudentia* of Fabius himself, see 12.6 (where as here it is combined with the idea of *constantia*) and n.

39.13 in aliena in hostili ... inimica infestaque ... ab domo ab patria ... nullae ... urbes ... nulla moenia: three instances of asyndeton and one of coordination. For *ab domo ab patria* cf. Sall. *Iug.* 14.11 (without prepositions). **rapto:** Petrarch's correction of P's *capto* became the vulgate: the Carthaginians existed on what they could lay their hands on, not what they captured; and *uiuere rapto*, unlike *uiuere capto*, is a set phrase; see Hardie 1994: 194 on Virg. *Aen.* 9.612–13 and Oakley 1998: 236 (7.25.13n.).

39.14 partem ... traiecit: at 21.38.2–5, L. discusses the differing figures for Hannibal's losses during the journey from the Ebro to Italy; the figure of two-thirds is also attributed to P. Scipio at 21.40.7; there had, of course, been additional losses since then. Since both passages are in speeches, they must be regarded with suspicion, and as a statement of Hannibal's losses are exaggerated (in any case, neither speaker could have known the truth). Pol. 3.60.5 is authorial and a little more plausible – losses of half his force 'as I said earlier' – but even that may be too high, and Pol. has never said quite this in any earlier passage (on 3.56.4 see Introduction, as below). See Lazenby 1978: 48, *HCP* 366 and 395 on Pol. 3.35.1 and 60.5, and briefly Walbank and Habicht 2010: 159 n. 97 on the latter passage. For further details, see Introduction section 10(b), on Carthaginian manpower. **Hiberum amnem:** on the Ebro, in northern Spain, see 19.5n.

39.15 sedendo: this looks back to 14.14 (Minucius), and cf. 39.11, *in sede ac solo*. It is a theme of the book. **senescat** 'grows weaker'; see *OLD* 3d, citing 29.3.15. **non ... pecuniam:** *asyndeton trimembre* with anaphora of *non*.

39.16 pro Gereoni ... sed<et? see 23.9–24.14; on Gereonium cf. 18.7n. Fabius' point is that Hannibal's powerlessness is illustrated by the length of time he had spent defending Gereonium, as if he had all the resources of Carthage behind him. The contrast between little Gereonium and mighty Carthage is somewhat forced.

39.16–17 sed<et? sed>: 39.10–16 have been a justification of Fabius' strategy (39.9 *ratio ... gessi*), and he now says that he does not want to boast about himself: the previous consuls had followed the same path: an adversative, therefore, is particularly appropriate, hence *sed*. The omission was caused by a scribe's eye moving from *sed-* to *sed*.

39.17 Seruilius ... consules: on Cn. Servilius Geminus cf. 1.4n., on M. Atilius Regulus, the *consul suffectus*, 25.16n. P has *P. Seruilius*; L. will not have given the *praenomen* of only one consul, and a manuscript used by Sigonius altered *P.* to *Cn.* and added *M.* before *Atilius*. As Luchs saw, *P.* should simply be deleted; it probably resulted from anticipation of *p(roximi)*. **ludificati sint:** the verb echoes the authorial account of the Gereonium episode at 18.9, *ludificationem hostis*. The verb will recur in the run-up to the battle of the Metaurus: 27.46.6, *ludificatus hostem*. For structural and other parallels between books 22 and 27, see Introduction section 4. *ludificari* is used on eight occasions by L., *ludificatio* twice. It is not particularly rare, despite 'admodum raro' at *TLL* VII

2.1766.73-4. **haec una salutis est uia:** cf. *una salus* at 7.35.9, and Virg. *Aen.* 2.354 *una salus uictis nullam sperare salutem*; for the spatial metaphor in *uia*, see Van Gils 2019: 270-1. **L. Paulle:** see 39.1, 4nn. **ciues:** in their military capacity, as is clear from the following sentence.

39.18 consul Romanus ... Poenus imperator: chiasmus, perhaps stressing that while Varro is an elected consul, without sole power, Hannibal is an autocratic commander. **resistes:** 'succeed in resisting' (W-M); cf. *OLD resisto* 3b. **resistes ... mouerit:** the whole sentence alludes to Enn. *Ann.* 364-5 Sk (book XII fr. 1), *noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem / ergo postque magisque uiri nunc gloria claret*. **falsa infamia** 'undeserved ill-repute', perhaps referring hypothetically to the criticism Paullus would receive by refusing to go into battle (rather than to the earlier episode referred to at 40.3, see n. there).

39.19-22 The speech closes with a series of sententious maxims (γνῶμαι, see [Ar.] *Rhet. Alex.* 1430a-b). See Ullmann 1927: 96, and Introduction section 7(h).

39.19 ueritatem laborare ... exstingui nunquam: the metaphor is from an eclipse of the moon; cf. Virg. *Geo.* 2.478; Juv. 6.443. For the proverb cf. Otto 1890: 367-8; add the biblical I Esdras 4.41 *magna est ueritas et praeualet* (often misquoted as *praeualebit*: 'the truth is great, and shall prevail'). For *aiunt* of a proverb cf. Oakley 1998: 163 (7.13.7n.).

39.20 sine ... uocent. malo ... metuat: for *sinere* and *malle* with the plain subjunctive, cf. K-St II 228-9. **timidum ... belli:** for similarly opposing characterisations cf. Briscoe 2012a: 369 (42.62.7n.).

39.21 <hortor> 'Nor am I advising you to do nothing, but to be led in what you do by reason, not luck'. The verb of which *ego* is the subject has fallen out, and *hortor* well explains the omission, a scribe's eye moving from (*aga*) *tur* to (*hort*) *or*. **te ratio ducat, non fortuna** 'reason not fortune'; see 18.9n., and for the present passage, cf. Buijs 2019: 284. At 41.1, *fortuna* (or personified *Fortuna*, see n. there) will take a hand, luring Varro into over-confidence by allowing him a minor victory. **neque ... desis neque ... des:** for double *neque* with the present subjunctive used imperatively, cf. K-St I 194 (cf. 188). **occasione tuae:** the opportunity that is advantageous to you; cf. K-St I 600.

39.22 clara certaue: for the coupling, also at 6.1.3, cf. Wölfflin 1933: 256. **festinatio ... caeca:** cf. Apul. *Met.* 8.16.1.

40.1–3 *Paullus' reply*. Indirect speeches are also speeches (Laird 1999: 144), and are as deserving of analysis in the same terms, but usually do not receive it; thus Ullmann (1927: 23) excluded them from his book. For indirect speech in L., see Lambert 1946; Oakley 1997: 119–20. Indirect speech sometimes reflects an authorial decision to abbreviate drastically (see *CT* III 33 on Hdt. and Th.), and that explanation works here: L. is now impatient to proceed with the postponed narrative. Sometimes (*CT*, as above) indirect speech is a way for an author smoothly to feed in authorial information or comment, often by adroit use of γάρ (as at Th. 2.13.3–9, esp. 3 for γάρ), but in this case that is truer of Fabius' speech than of Paullus'. For Paullus' speech see Adema 2019: 301; cf. **40.2n**.

40.1 *haud sane laeta* 'not very cheerful' (*OLD laetus* 3b, citing this passage), but also conveying the sense of 'ill-omened', which this speech surely is. **magis fatentis ... facilia factu**: in effect, 'true, but easier said than done'. *magis* goes with *uera quam facilia factu*; the purpose of the hyperbaton is not clear, but perhaps L. wishes the reader illogically to take *magis* with *fatentis*. *facile factu* is a common phrase (cf. K–St I 724), doubtless often used in everyday speech.

40.2 *dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; ... auctoritatis fore?* See Adema 2019: 321: the speech characterises Paullus as 'rather defeatist', and this rhetorical question contributes to the effect.

Fabius, as dictator, had an *imperium* which was greater than that of Minucius, the *magister equitum*, but Paullus and Varro, as consuls, possessed equal *imperium*. L. is referring only to the period before the equalisation of the *imperium* of Fabius and Minucius. After that, the position was the same as that of Paullus and Varro, though in the event Fabius had to rescue Minucius and the latter apologised; to have mentioned that would have weakened Paullus' response. *intolerabilem* does not mean that Fabius could not control Minucius, but that he found him insufferable. Perhaps L. is portraying Paullus as being in a depressed and somewhat confused state, not expressing himself entirely logically.

40.3 *se ... effugisse*: for the facts see **35.3** and n. This episode must – despite the silence of the *periocha* – have been narrated in book 20, outside L.'s surviving text, which resumes with book 21 (where Livius is mentioned only at 21.18.1); but it will acquire renewed importance in book 27, as the reason for the enduring rancour felt by Livius in the run-up to the consular elections for 207 and the Metaurus campaign (see esp. 27.34.3–5). For *incendium* of a conviction, cf. 39.6.4, Cic. *Att.* 5.20 (SB 113).8, *TLL* VII 1.864.79–83. **prosperere euenirent** 'turn out well'.

hostium ... obiecturum: L. makes Paullus foreshadow his own refusal to flee from Cannae (49.9–12). In the event the surviving consul Varro was thanked, not prosecuted (61.14, at the very end of the book).

40.4–50.3 THE BATTLE OF CANNAE

Cannae was the greatest military disaster of Republican Roman history, and the costliest in terms of lost manpower, whatever precise view be taken of the casualty figures (49.15n.). L. uses all his rhetorical powers to emphasise its magnitude. For a comparative literary treatment of the narratives of L. and Pol., see Introduction section 7(d). Historical points from Pol. will be cited in the nn. below. No modern historian goes to L. rather than Pol. for the facts (except that L. brings out the importance of Roman exhaustion as Pol. does not, 47.10n.; Pol. mixes up Minucius and the ex-consul Atilius Regulus and has the latter die at Cannae, 25.16n.; Pol.'s casualty figures are higher and less plausible, 49.15n.; and Pol.'s account is itself not free from bias against Varro and in favour of Paullus, 43.10n. on Day One). See Rich 2005: 249: L.'s variants from Pol. 'clearly unreliable', although even he calls Pol.'s account 'schematic'. But L.'s narrative is more of a self-conscious work of art. L. the artist has done some of the work in advance. He has more than once anticipated the catastrophe: see 25.18n. for the pointed and early emphasis on the shortcomings of Varro; 39.8 (Fabius anticipates a worse defeat than Trasimene), cf. Paullus at 40.1–3; and esp. the bold and menacing prolepses at 42.10, the imminent *pestis*, and 43.9, *clade* and *urgente fato*. After 47, he realises that Pol.'s sober battle narrative is not enough on its own for his purposes (some more personal and Herodotean handling is needed), so he breaks away from it in 48 and 49: the drama of the Numidians' treachery, and then the close-up treatment of Paullus' end. Here the narrative pace slows down so that the fate of a key player is elaborated in detail. In this culminating part he brings the military material to life with some direct speech: Hannibal's black humour at 49.3, and above all the pathetic rhetoric of the exchange between Lentulus and Paullus at 49.6–12.

Ennius narrated the battle in book VIII of his epic poem *Annales* (this book went down to 211 BC); frs. 4–12 and perhaps 13 come from his account. On this extensive coverage see Skutsch 1985: 430–1, insisting that although Cic. *Man.* 25 implies that Roman poets preferred not to dwell on Roman defeats, Cannae was exceptional. (Propertius mentioned only one specific event, the 'unlucky battle of Cannae', *pugnamque sinistram / Cannensem*, in his three-line summary of the Hannibalic war part of Ennius' epic: 3.3.9–11 = T[estimonium] 50 at Goldberg and Manuwald 2018: 42–3 and 238–9.) Individual fragments will be cited below, with

translations from Goldberg and Manuwald. See esp. 45.8n. on the prominence accorded by Ennius to the ex-consul Servilius Geminus; this is also in Appian, but not in Pol. or L. See also Introduction section 7 pp. 42–5.

The battle was probably fought in early July (Julian calendar): Derow 2015: 235, cf. 230 for the relevant calendar equations. The only specific ancient evidence is *FRHist* 24 Claudius Quadrigarius F53 with Briscoe's comm.: 'on the third day before the Nones of Sextilis', i.e. 2 August (in the Roman calendar; see Introduction section 5 pp. 24–5). The day-by-day chronology of the actual battle period in Apulia is much fuller and clearer from Pol. than from L.; see Lazenby 1978: 78 and the more detailed eight-day table at Oakley 2019: 182–9, which will be drawn on below, beginning after 43.9.

For the settlement at Cannae, and the river Aufidus (mod. Ofanto), see 43.10n. on *prope eum uicum*. The location of the battle has been disputed but is surely clear from Pol. (3.113–14, who says explicitly that the Romans faced south, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, 3.113.2, although SW would have been more accurate): after some to-ing and fro-ing by both sides across the Aufidus (for these manoeuvres see below), the battle was fought on the right bank of the river, downstream from the town of Cannae: *Barr.* map 45 B2. See Seibert 1993b: 230. For strong arguments refuting De Sanctis (1968), the most influential advocate of the 'left bank' theory, see *HCP* 435–8; see also 46.8–9n. for the doubtful evidence of Ennius. Against the suggestion (Connolly 1981: 184 with drawing on 183; Goldsworthy 2001: 86–93) that the ancient course of the Aufidus was some way W of its present course, see Daly 2002: 35 and Rich 2005: 249. The river meanders, and no doubt there have been small alterations of direction over time, but a drastic course-shift is unlikely.

The pre-battle moves and manoeuvres emerge more intelligibly from Pol. than from L., although L. drew heavily on Pol. up to the end of 47. Paullus' first and larger camp was on the left bank, but he then established a smaller one on the right bank ('east of the ford', Pol. 3.110.10, see above; cf. 44.1–3 and n.). Hannibal's first camp was on the right bank near Cannae town, but he then moved across to pitch a second camp on the left bank, on the same side of the river as the main Roman camp (3.111.11, cf. 44.4n.). After sunrise on Day Eight, the day of the battle, Varro led his main forces across the river to the right bank, and Hannibal did the same, crossing in two places (45.5 and 46.1; Pol. 3.113.1–2 and 6). The Roman army now faced SW and the Carthaginian NE: see previous para. Hence Pol. can say of the battle that the Roman right wing and the Carthaginian left wing were drawn up by the river, 3.113.3 and 7. See map 4.

For the tactics of the actual battle, see 45.5–49.18n.

Numbers on each side are variously given by the sources. Pol. gave the Romans twice as many infantry as their opponents (80,000 : 40,000, see Pol. 3.114.5 for the Carthaginians), but fewer cavalry (6,000 : 10,000, Pol. 3.113.5 and 114.5). The Roman infantry totals are problematic. Pol. (3.107.9) is explicit that they fielded eight legions of 5000 each ‘apart from the allies’, whose numbers were the same. This has been doubted, e.g. by De Sanctis 1968: 111–15, 126–30, and Brunt 1971: 419 and n. 2, who argued for four strengthened legions, but is convincingly defended by Lazenby 1978: 75–6; so too Goldsworthy 2001: 65 and Daly 2002: 25–9. For the textual difficulties of 36.1–5, see n. there, and Briscoe 2018: 70. See also Introduction p. 84.

As for the Carthaginian battle line, it is likely that Pol. has included in his 40,000 infantry total the troops left behind as a camp garrison. The size of this is not known, but might have been about 8,000, leaving 32,000 fighting men (see Daly 2002: 29–32 and 211 nn. 55 and 56). Pol.’s cavalry total of 10,000 is possibly right.

Bibliography. Literary treatments: Hug 1852; Cichorius 1915; Bruckmann 1936: 70–88; Burck 1962: 90–102; Skutsch 1985: 446–8; Levene 2010: 285–6 and 2019 (on which see 64.10n.); Oakley 2019 (mainly on L.’s relation to Pol.); Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 208–31. Historical: De Sanctis 1968: 4–63 and 126–59; Cornelius 1932; *HCP* 435–41 and comm.; Lazenby 1978: 75–86 with map 9 (and briefly in *OCD* ‘Cannae’); Briscoe, *CAHVIII* 51–2; Seibert 1993a: 191–204 and 1993b: 227–34; Goldsworthy 2001; Daly 2002 (both the last two indebted to Keegan 1976 on battle experience, and usefully reviewed by Rich 2005); Brizzi 2016.

40.4–9 The Pre-battle Situation; Roman Dispositions and Their Effect on Hannibal

40.4 ab hoc sermone ‘immediately after this speech’. The main Cannae narrative now begins – on the view here taken. But there are other candidates for the start-point: see Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 208. **cum dignitates deessent** ‘although people of high rank were missing’: *cum* is used concessively, K–St II 348–9. For *dignitas* meaning ‘distinguished person’ (abstract for concrete), cf. Cic. *Orat.* 89, Plin. *NH* 5.12, and see *OLD* 3e and *TLL* 5.1.1139.12–31.

40.6 M. Atilium, aetatem excusantem: see 25.16n.

40.7 Hannibal: for the change of perspective, see Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 218. **parte dimidia auctas** ‘doubled’ (not ‘increased by fifty per cent’); cf. 29.25.2 with W–M on both passages, and see *OLD* *dimidius*. **mire gaudere:** for Hannibal’s joy, cf. 28.1 *duplex ... gaudium* and n.

40.8 superabat ‘was left over’. **quicquam reliqui erat**: see 61.15n. for such neuter quantitative adjectives and pronouns with a partitive genitive.

40.9 ut uix decem dierum, ...: that Hannibal was desperately short of supplies is a non-Polybian motif (developed at 43), and may be pure invention by L. or his source, designed to accentuate the success of Fabius’ strategy (so Levene 2010: 197 n. 73 citing Erdkamp 1992, and see 11.4; see also Daly 2002: 136, observing that Pol. 3.107.3–5 shows that Hannibal had captured the grain stores at Cannae town). It also heightens the dramatic tension, because this is an example of the ellipse of the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional (‘and they would have deserted’); cf. Briscoe 1973: 215 (32.25.8n.). See Introduction section 7(g). **parata fuerit**: perfect subjunctive with historic main verb, as often in consecutive clauses; here because the meaning is ‘was ready’, not just ‘had been prepared’. **si maturitas temporum exspectata foret** ‘if they [i.e. the Romans, *a Romanis* or *a consulibus* has to be understood] had waited for the right time’; cf. *OLD* *maturitas* 4. *foret* not *esset*, as often in counterfactual conditionals; cf. 9.9n.

41–42 *Minor and Misleading Roman Victory; Hannibal’s Attempted Ruse*

In L.’s presentation, the success at 41.1–3 was the work of a malign *fortuna* (41.1): it did Hannibal no great damage (he welcomed it as bait, 41.4), but it encouraged the more impetuous of the consuls. Pol. (3.110.4–7) places it much later in the narrative sequence, on Day 4 in Oakley’s scheme when Varro was in command (Oakley 2019: 185), only four days before the main battle on Day 8; see 44.7n. L., by contrast, implies a date before the Polybian narrative has even reached Day 1, which it does at 3.108.2. By putting Paullus in command (45.4–5n.), L. is able to make Varro criticise him for losing the opportunity of finishing off the war (Bruckmann 1936: 76, followed by Oakley 2019: 161). For this narrative displacement, see Introduction p. 43.

Enn. *Ann.* 258–60 Sk (book VIII fr. 4) seems to belong in this context: *multa dies in bello conficit unus ... / et rursus multae fortunae forte recumbunt: / haud quaquam quemquam semper fortuna secuta est*, ‘one day accomplishes much in war ... and many fortunes chance to sink back again: Fortune has attended almost no one at every moment ...’, i.e. Paullus, who refused to follow up Varro’s success, warned that it could be reversed in a moment.

The ruse at 41.4–42.12 (not in Pol.) fails because of the chance of the information provided by two slaves (42.11); this has the effect of postponing the Roman disaster, which, has thus, however, been cleverly adumbrated (42.10, *imminentem pestem*).

L. makes effective and characteristic use of dramatic *peripeteia* (reversal) in this episode. At first it seems that Marius Statilius has effected a

peripeteia at 42.4, but he has not. As often *forte* (42.10) signals the turning point: Oakley 1997: 416 (6.3.4n.), cf. 127.

41.1 temeritati consulis: an unusual authorial use of *temeritas* about Varro (Buijs 2019: 283, cf. the table at 275). The rash consul is clearly Varro; cf. *temerarium* at 40.2, and the insistent use of *temeritas* hereabouts, 41.4, also 44.5 (albeit said to Varro, not about him); there is no need to postulate, with W–M, a change of source to explain why he is not named here. *temeritas* is a persistent theme in the whole book, particularly in 23–30: see 3.4n., and cf. Buijs 2019: 283. **materiam etiam fortuna dedit:** a rare appearance by *fortuna* as a ‘meaningful causal agent’ in a battle; so Levene 2010: 285 and n. 51, explaining this exception as due to the randomness of the result. Cf. also Buijs 2019: 284. **tumultuario proelio** ‘an unplanned battle’ (or a ‘chaotic’ one: Levene, as above).

41.2–3 Paullus consul, cuius eo die—nam alternis imperitabant—imperium erat: for daily alternation of command between consuls, see 27.6n. On the problem of 45.4–5 (esp. *sors*), see n. there; the frequentative *imperitare*, combined with the imperfect, here suggests that the alternation had already started on a day earlier than that now referred to.

41.3 debellarique ni cessatum foret ‘and could have finished off the war if they had not hung back’. With this counterfactual boast, compare (with Levene 2010: 203 and n. 92) Marcellus at 24.17.7, complaining about Claudius Nero. For *debellare*, cf. 34.7 (Baebius). See Intro. n. 118.

41.4 uelut inescatam temeritatem: for *inesco* in the metaphorical sense of baiting a trap (from *esca*, ‘food’), see 41.23.8 (the only other occurrence in L.) with Briscoe 2012a: 122, and Ter. *Ad.* 220. For *temeritatem* see 41.1n.

41.5 haud secus quam sua ...: just how this is possible was explained at 28.1, which the reader is expected to remember here. **dissimiles discordesque:** with this alliterative pair (cf. 46.5, *dispaes ac dissimiles*), closely followed by *duas*, understand some such noun as ‘leaders’ (‘readily understood from *imperitare*’: Briscoe 2018: 73, who notes that alternatively the two words could be taken substantively, ‘men who were in command’; cf. app.). The double characterisation is perhaps a stylistic enactment of the duality of the consulship, whose holders ought to have worked in professional harmony, something even the bitter personal enemies Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero managed to do at the Metaurus in book 27. But both L. and Ennius (42.4n.) exaggerated the extent and nature of the

discord between the consuls, which Pol. reveals to be purely tactical rather than about whether to fight at all; see Introduction section 9. **duas prope partes**: see 36.2.

41.9 relictī ... ignes: for use of fires in stratagems of various types, see Oakley 1998: 762–3 (8.38.4n.). **sicut Fabium priore anno**: see 16.7–17.7. This is a species of cross-reference, for which topic see 24.1n.

42.1 ubi inluxit: cf., e.g., 3.2.10; also 27.42.11, shortly before the battle at the Metaurus.

42.2 quoque ‘and so that’ i.e. *quō* and *que*, not ‘also’. *quō* regularly replaces *ut* in final clauses that contain a comparative.

42.4 Paullus etiam atque etiam dicere prouidendum praecauendumque esse: for *etiam atque etiam* used of entreaties, see 13.4n. Cf. Enn. *Ann.* 261–2 Sk (book VIII frs. 5 and 6), evidently extracts from a speech in which Paullus attempts to restrain Varro, saying that ‘battle is premature’, *praecox pugna est* (261), and ‘I refuse to fight, *certare abnueo*. I fear ruin for the legions, *metuo legionibus labem*’ (262); Hug 1852: 23. See 41.5n. for the real and limited nature of the disagreement between Paullus and Varro. **seditionem ... ducem seditionis**: see 14.1n., and for Varro himself as *sediciosus*, see 40.2. The noun recurs at 44.5 (about the Romans as always in this part of the narrative, although the rank and file on both sides were restless: 43.3n., the Carthaginians). **Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana**: see also 43.7. This man is the subject of the anecdote at Plut. *Fab.* 20.2–4 (and other sources cited at *MRR* I 251) as having been unexpectedly rewarded by Fabius when he showed signs of wishing to desert. Plut. calls him a Marsian. For Lucania, see *Barr.* map 45 CD3, and for the allied cavalry contribution, see Introduction section 10(a).

42.5 ubi adequitauit portis ‘when he rode up to the gates’. For the verb with the dative, cf., e.g., 1.14.7 *adequitando ipsis prope portis*. At 48.2 it is used absolutely. Before L. it occurs once in Caesar.

42.8 cum ... pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent: the sacred chickens were supposed to eat greedily, so that grain fell noisily from their beaks. If they did not, it was a bad omen: see next n. This pre-battle augury was called a *tripudium* (originally a ritual dance in triple time, presumably noisy), for which see Wissowa 1912: 532; Rosenberger 2007: 300. *auspicio* here means ‘at the *auspiciū*’, i.e. when he was taking the auspices; for the noun see 1.5n. For *addico* (‘indicate approval’) used of omens (esp. birds, cf. 1.36.3) indicating a favourable outcome, see *OLD* 4.

42.9 Flamini tamen recens casus: Varro stops just short of the extreme irreligiosity of Flaminius (Levene 2010: 171). **Claudique consulis primo Punico bello:** a good and famous story, which illustrated what Tacitus called the ingrained arrogance of the Claudian family (*Ann.* 1.4, *insita Claudiae familiae superbia*, cf. Oakley 2005: 358 and 362 (the long n. on 9.29.5–11)), and which featured in later discussions of the efficacy of divination. P. Claudius (304) Pulcher was cos. 249 BC. Before the sea-battle off Drepanum (mod. Trapani in western Sicily) the consul was told that the sacred chickens refused to eat, so he replied ‘then let them drink’ (*ut biberent quando esse nollent*, Suet. *Tib.* 2.2) and threw them into the sea. He lost the battle. See *Per.* 19 (*qui contemptis auspiciis male pugnaverat*), Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.7, *Diu.* 1.29 and the many other sources at *MRR* I 214; Rosenberger 1997: 208 and 2007: 300; Miano 2018: 26. **religionem animo incussit:** a striking expression. *religionem incutere* is without parallel in Classical Latin, but for *animo incutere*, cf. Curt. 3.6.5, *ingentem animo sollicitudinem litterae incusserant*.

42.10–12 The mini-narrative of the information provided by the slaves (not in Pol., see 41–42n. for the absence of the whole ruse from his account) is analysed by Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 221 in the terms applied to the Abelux episode, i.e. ‘abstract’ through to ‘coda’ (22.4–21n.).

42.10 imminentem pestem ‘the imminent destruction’. An important prolepsis: see 41–42n. and Introduction n. 142. **nam forte:** see (again) 41–42n.

42.11 Formiani unus alter Sidicini equitis ‘one [slave] the property of a Formian, the other of a Sidicinian knight’. For Formiae (mod. Formia) on the Appian Way, at this date a community of Roman citizens without voting rights (*ciuitas sine suffragio*), see *Barr.* map 44 E3 and *OCD*¹. For the Sidicini, Oscan-speaking allies of the Romans, and their chief city Teanum Sidicinum, see *Barr.* map 44 F3 and *OCD*¹. Cf. 57.8n.

42.12 imperii potentes fecit ‘enabled them to exercise their authority’ i.e. ‘again’. **primum:** the idea is that the behaviour of one of the consuls (his *ambitio*, popularity-seeking, combined with his disgraceful self-indulgence, *prauā indulgentiā*) had weakened the authority of both of them; but his own in the first instance. **maiestatem soluisset:** *maiestatem soluere* is found only here in Classical Latin, but cf., e.g., *disciplinam soluere* at 8.7.16.

43.1 motos magis inconsulte ... temere euectos uidit: a chiasmus. For the frequent application to Hannibal of words or nouns of perceiving in the

battle narrative which follows, see Buijs 2019: 286–7. For the combination of *incaute* and *temere*, see 38.11n. **nequiquam detecta**: the ambush was laid in vain because it was detected.

43.2 inopiam frumenti: for this oft-repeated but non-Polybian motif, see 40.9n. **nouaque consilia**: cf. 21.2n. for *nouae res* as ‘change’, but here there may be an additional hint of ‘seditious’ (cf. *OLD nouus* 1ob). **conluuione** ‘confused mixture’; cf. 3.6.3 (about the extra human and animal population at Rome in time of plague), and esp. the very similar but more rhetorically elaborate 28.12.3, again about Hannibal’s troops: the word itself is disparaging, but the context as a whole is explicitly admiring that time, and L. there claims, despite the present passage – see 43.3nn. – that there was never any *seeditio* in his army: 28.12.4. See also 46.4–6n. For similar comments about Hannibal’s army at Zama, see 30.33.12 and 30.34.1, and for the multinational and multilingual Carthaginian army, see Pol. 1.67.

43.3 aperta uociferatio: L. avoids the actual word *seeditio* (for which word see 14.1n.), but that is what it is; see 43.2n., and next n. In the present context, he prefers to use it of the Romans only (thus maintaining the clarity of the distinction between the armies): 42.4n. **de transitione**: the reported threat of actual desertion to the enemy would, if true to the facts, certainly be a species of *seeditio*. Cf. 40.9.

43.4 Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse: see 32.3 and Introduction section 7(g) p. 49 n. 119.

43.5 transfugia ‘desertions’, a rare noun, not attested before L., but favoured by Tac. (e.g. *Ann.* 2.46.5 with Goodyear 1972–81: II 335).

43.7 Statilium: see 42.4 and n.

43.8 fere omnes: L. does not specify further the members of this implied council of war, other than the consuls and ex-consul: certainly the cavalry commanders (App. *Hann.* 18.78–82), and surely some at least of the military tribunes, for whose importance and prestige (only six to a legion) see Harris 1979: 13 and Keppie 1998: 39–40. For legates and military tribunes as members of military *consilia*, see Oakley 2005a: 64 (9.2.15n., noting that the *primipilus* of each legion was also present, although L. does not say so in the surviving books). Lentulus the military tribune will be presented as knowing that Paullus was not to blame for Cannae (49.7), but that does not quite prove him to have been one of the council: the discrepant views

of the consuls are not likely to have been a secret. In all, seven of the military tribunes of this year are known, all of them attested at Cannae: *MRR* I 250–1 (29 were killed in the battle, 49.16). For the military *consilium* before the battle of Pydna, see 44.36–40; but this was exceptional in that it included foreign kings, notably Attalus (cf. 37.19.1, Aemilius Regillus calls a meeting to which both Eumenes and some Rhodians were invited); otherwise L. mentions the presence before Pydna of Roman *legati*, 44.36.8. See also 9.14.13–15.1 (320 BC; after a general assembly to quell the anger of the troops, an obviously smaller and more select *consilium* is called); 27.20.1 (Scipio Africanus holds a *consilium* in Spain); 27.46.5 (before the battle of the Metaurus, attended by the praetor L. Porcius Licinus); 32.6.3; 32.9.8; 37.13.5 (no obvious convenor); and other passages cited by Oakley, as above; and see Oakley 1998: 148 (7.10.14n.) for military *contiones*. For consultation of a *consilium* (Greek συμβούλιον) of colleagues by a Republican magistrate when away from Rome, see Crook 1955: 5, citing e.g. *ILS* 8888 (*ILLRP* 515), the famous block grant of citizenship by the consul Cn. Pompeius Strabo in 89 BC; this lists the members of the council at the end, including the young Catiline. Classical Athenian generals abroad might be advised at meetings attended by the taxiarchs, Th. 7.60.2 (Sicily; 7.48.1 surprisingly implies a much larger voting body of ordinary soldiers, μετὰ πολλῶν, but this is problematic). Decius Mus invites voting by soldiers at L. 7.35.12, but in a highly unusual situation. For a Classical Spartan king to be forced to accept advisers, ξύμβουλοι, on campaign was an exceptional humiliation (Th. 5.63.4). **nemo praeter Servilium:** after this, L. mentions Servilius only as commander of the centre (45.8) and for his death (49.16). See Cichorius 1915: 137, and 45.8n., for his far greater role in Ennius and Appian. It is unlikely that Servilius was entirely alone in his support for Paullus, though no doubt he was the most vocal and authoritative speaker. For the rhetorically exaggerated *topos* of the one dissentient at a *consilium*, cf. 44.36.7–9 and 38.1, Scipio Nasica Corculum before Pydna (but in fact others shared his view, see Briscoe 2012a: 586–7, 44.37.10n.).

43.9 ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato ...: a solemn and heavy formulation, and a striking authorial prolepsis, unequivocally anticipating the outcome of the battle about to be narrated (but it has itself been anticipated by *nobilior* in Fabius' speech at 39.8; see n. there). With the combination *nobilitandas*, 'make famous', and *clade* cf. Fabius at 39.8, also anticipating Cannae: *nobilior alius Trasumeno locus nostris cladibus erit*, and (after the event) 50.1 *Alliensi clade nobilitate par*. Cf. Curt. 4.9.9 (battle of Arbela/Gaugamela *nobilem sua clade facturum*); Plin. *NH* 3.105 (on Cannae), 5.86 and 6.10; Vell. 2.105.1.

With *urgente fato* cf. 5.22.8 (the fall of Veii, also preceded by *clade*), 5.36.6 (the Allia); also Virg. *Aen.* 2.653 *fatoque urgenti* and Tac. *Germ.* 33.2, *urgentibus imperii fatis*. See Kajanto 1957: 58–60; Davies 2004: 107; Levene 2019 (arguing that this stress on fate is at variance with 61.14, Varro said to be the cause of the defeat; but on this point see Intro. p. 65 n. 181).

43.10 prope eum uicum: Cannae was an elongated hilltop settlement of great antiquity, overlooking the plain of the river Aufidus to the NE (44.2, mod. Ofanto, now a small winding river). There is also a recently excavated necropolis in an elevated position SE of the main hill. See Lazenby 1978: plate VII (both photographs) and *Barr.* map 45 D2. Excavations in 1999 and 2000 show that occupation was much reduced in the years after 216. There is a new museum, also SE of the hill, which houses the pre-Hannibalic finds, and a miniature cinema which shows a computer-generated reconstruction of the battle (recommended). **auersa a Volturno uento:** the Volturnus was a local name for the ESE wind more usually called the Eurus (Sen. *QNat.* 5.16.4), mod. Sirocco. See also 46.8–9n. The narrative has now reached *Day One*. At this point Paullus (newly arrived in Apulia and evidently in command for the day) delivers a long speech of exhortation which L. omits (3.108.2–109.13); on the omission see Adema 2019: 303–4 and n. 31, suggesting that L. wishes to portray Paullus as opposed to fighting, so that a battle exhortation would be inappropriate. Equally, Pol. does not record the Council of War reported by L., but makes him proceed to fight on the explicit instructions of the senate (3.108.1). L. and his sources are determined to incriminate Varro as far as possible. Pol. takes this to less of an extreme, but he may have had personal reasons for treating Paullus lightly: the latter was grandfather of his friend Scipio Aemilianus (by birth an Aemilius but a Cornelius Scipio by adoption). The narrative has now reached *Day Two*. This must be a day of command by Varro, during which the Romans break camp and advance to where they have heard the enemy are: Pol. 3.110.1.

43.10–11 nubes pulueris uehit. ... in occaecatum puluere offuso hostem ‘brings clouds of dust ... against an enemy half-blinded by the dust driven into their faces’. See *OLD* *offundo* 1a. This exculpatory detail, which recalls the Roman plight at Trasimene (Introduction section 7(b) for the fog or mist there), will be repeated insistently at 46.8–9. See n. there, citing Ennius. The narrative has reached *Day Three*. Paullus must be in command for the day on which the Romans decline battle and Varro criticises him for it: 44.1–7 and Pol. 3.110.1–3.

44.1–3 For the two Roman camps, on each side of the Aufidus, see Pol. 3.111.11; cf. introductory n. to 40.4–50.3.

44.1 in conspectu ‘in sight’, cf., e.g., *Bell. Afr.* 41.3, and Virg. *Aen.* 2.21, *est in conspectu Tenedos*

44.2 Aufidus amnis: see 43.10n. on *prope eum uicum*.

44.4 locis natis ad equestrem pugnam: for this type of expression, cf. 4.2n. and 28.6n. L. omits to mention that Hannibal crossed the river to the left bank now (Pol. 3.111.11 with *HCP* 443). **qua parte uirium inuictus erat:** cf. Pol. 3.111.2, παρὰ πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἵπποκρατοῦντας (for the verb see Th. 6.71.2, the Athenian cavalry outclassed and outnumbered by the Syracusan). Roman weakness in cavalry (for which see already 21.47.1, the Ticinus) was not fully remedied until Zama, when the Numidian Masinissa’s skilled and numerous horsemen gave Scipio a decisive advantage; see e.g. 30.33.13. But the Romans did have the support of allied cavalry, see Introduction section 10(a), and 13.2n., 42.4n. and 42.10n. (Campanian, Sidicine and Lucanian cavalry). **hostes:** i.e. the Romans, seen from Hannibal’s viewpoint. See Van Gils 2019: 258–9 and 262 for the focalisation here, and e.g. 257 and 268 for Hannibal’s spatial awareness as superior to that of his Roman opponents.

44.5 seditione militari: see 42.4n.

44.6 uelut usu cepisset Italiam ‘he had occupied Italy as if by right of possession’, a simile derived from Roman property law; see *OLD* *usucapio*. For the thought, cf. 27.21.2 (criticism at Rome of sluggish war policy): ‘this is the tenth year in which Hannibal has held Italy as his *prouincia*’. **se constrictum a collega:** Metilius at 25.6 had put the thought even more vividly: Minucius was kept a virtual prisoner by Fabius, *prope in custodia habitum*.

44.7 culpa exsortem ‘exempt from blame’, as will be acknowledged by Lentulus addressing the wounded Paullus at 49.7, *insontem culpa cladis*. For the adjective, which does not occur before the Augustan period (it is also in Horace and Virgil), see *OLD* *ex(s)ors* 2. The narrative has reached *Day Four*. Pol. (3.110.4–7) is explicit that Varro was in command for this day, and he now narrates the skirmish which L. had placed many days earlier (41–42; for the significance of this discrepancy, see introductory n. there). On *Day Five*, Paullus must be in command. He divides his forces between two camps, a larger and a smaller, on each side of the Aufidus; Hannibal decides he must fight, and makes a speech of encouragement to his men: Pol. 3.110.8–111.11. On *Day Six*, Varro is in command on the Roman side; Hannibal tells his troops to prepare. Paullus is in command on *Day Seven*, the day before the battle (so, explicitly, L. 45.4). Both L. and

Pol. describe how Hannibal sends his Numidians to harass the Roman water-carriers, but Paullus declines battle.

45.2 Numidas ... trans flumen mittit: that is, Hannibal sent his Numidians across the Aufidus to the right bank, cf. Pol. 3.112.3 with *HCP*, and see 44.4n. **aquatores** ‘water-carriers’, esp. military; see 41.1.6, Caes. *Civ.* 1.73.2 and *OLD* *aquator*.

45.4–5 quod summa imperii eo die penes Paullum fuerit. itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat ...: the force of *sors* here is problematic, and renders translation doubtful. The word often means ‘sortition’, but that cannot be straightforwardly in question here: L. has already said plainly (41.3) that the command alternated between the consuls daily, *alternis imperitabant*. Drawing lots might, however, conceivably be relevant as a way of deciding who should be in command on the first day of the alternating sequence (Mommson does not appear to address this potentially important detail anywhere). But L. has already explained at 41.2–3, and he repeats it here, that Paullus was in command on the day preceding the fatal day of Varro’s command; therefore, the sequence had already begun at least a day before L. speaks of *sors* (and see 41.3n. for the implication of *imperitabant*). Perhaps L. does have this (hypothetical) ‘first day’ sortition in mind, but postpones mention of it until now, in order to emphasise the element of chance which gave Varro, disastrously, the command at Cannae. Alternatively *sors* might be taken to have an unspecific and untechnical sense, ‘as chance would have it, Varro was in command that day’: a lit. tr. would have to be ‘to whom was the chance (*OLD* *sors* 8a) of the command of that day’.

45.5–49.18 Day Eight: The Battle

L. 45.5 and Pol. 3.113.1 agree that Varro was in command on the fateful day. See 45.4–5n.

The presumable Roman plan was simple: to use their superior infantry numbers to ‘deliver an overwhelming hammer blow’ against Hannibal’s foot-soldiers in the centre (Goldsworthy 2001: 103). The outcome of the battle depended essentially on Hannibal’s deliberate thrusting forward of this centre in a weak bulging crescent-formation (47.5n.; the tactic has been compared – see Daly 2002: 39 – to that of the weakened Greek centre at Marathon in 490 BC; see Hdt. 6.111–13, with Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 251–2 on 6.111.3). The Roman centre crashed through this bulge, flattened it and reversed it, but then they over-pursued, whereupon

the fresh troops on the Carthaginian wings about-faced and attacked the now exhausted Romans in the flanks (47.5–10, and for the exhaustion theme 47.10n.). Meanwhile Hasdrubal (not Hannibal's famous brother) had skilfully contrived to move his cavalry right round from the left wing so as to charge the Roman rear (48.5–6n., citing Pol. Hannibal had anticipated this tactic at the Ticinus: 21.46.7, with Lazenby 1978: 53). The Roman army was now surrounded, and was virtually annihilated. The shock defeat was in large part due to two factors: the inflexibility of the traditional Roman army, and Roman inferiority in cavalry. Both of these weaknesses would over the next years be remedied by Scipio: the first by military reforms in Spain (Scullard 1970: 74 on the battle of Baecula, 208 BC), and the second by the diplomacy which enlisted Masinissa's Numidian cavalry in time for Scipio to defeat Hannibal at Zama in 202 (44.4n.). The brilliance of Hannibal's victory, against an opponent numerically much superior in infantry, lay in exploiting these two weaknesses: by engineering an enveloping movement with which the exhausted Roman infantry could not cope, and by provoking a battle on flat terrain generally suited to cavalry (although he would have preferred the left not the right bank, Pol. 3.111.2 with Lazenby 1978: 79, who gives Varro some credit for his decision to switch to the right bank).

L.'s battle narrative is in five stages: (1) a skirmish of light-armed troops, 47.1; (2) a cavalry engagement, 47.1–3; (3) the main battle, in which the Roman centre penetrates too far and is surrounded, 47.4–10; (4) the Numidian deception and attack on the Roman rear, 48.1–4; (5) Hasdrubal's cavalry charge, 48.5–6. See T–P 117.

45.6 ita instruunt aciem: the material from here to 46.7, giving the disposition of Roman and Carthaginian forces, should all be regarded as 'orientation', in the terms used about the Abelux episode, cf. 22.4–21n. See Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 223, although for no obvious reason they apply the term only to the Carthaginian dispositions in 46. (The OCT should have punctuated with a semi-colon after *aciem*, and with semi-colons after *pedites* and *tenuerunt*.)

45.7 †iaculatores ex ceteris† leuium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta: the difficulty is that L. here seems to speak of 'javelin-throwers, out of the other light-armed auxiliaries ...', but no other light-armed auxiliaries have been mentioned. For the various suggested solutions, none of them satisfactory, see Briscoe 2018: 74.

45.8 Geminio Seruilio media pugna tuenda data: Pol. (3.114.6), consistent with his erroneous view that the other ex-consul Atilius Regulus also

fought at Cannae (25.16n. for Pol.'s probable confusion of Atilius with Minucius), has the centre commanded by them both; it is possible that Minucius, not mentioned by L. at Cannae, did co-command the centre.

Servilius supposedly and surprisingly delivered a speech 'amid the fight' (*inter pugnas*) to a trusted friend; this was reported by Ennius but ignored by L. For the long fr., which enumerates the qualities of a true friend, but unfortunately does not identify the friend or quote any of the actual speech which followed, see *Ann.* 268–86 Sk (book VIII fr. 12). (It was summarised by Aulus Gellius, who then quotes the fragment itself; see Skutsch 1985: 447, printing Gell. 12.4, who however assigned it erroneously to book VII.) Servilius' conversation with his friend has attractively been seen as intended to correspond to that in L. between Aemilius and Lentulus at 49.6–12 (Hug 1852: 24, followed by Skutsch 1985: 449), and the story of Servilius as 'a counterpart to the story of Aemilius Paullus, whose glorious death, shared so signally by Servilius according to Appian (see below), Ennius must have described at length' (Skutsch 1985: 449, with indebtedness to Cichorius 1915: 140–1). Ennius evidently made Servilius far more important than did Pol. or even L. (see 43.8 and n. for Servilius as Paullus' only supporter at the council of war). 'It was the heroism of Servilius and Aemilius Paullus which enabled the poet to make the story of Rome's greatest defeat acceptable to his readers' (Skutsch 1985: 448, partly drawing on Cichorius 1915). See also App. *Hann.* 18–25.78–110 with Cichorius 1915: 138–40 for the similarly heroic role of Servilius, who on this account commanded the left and received some Celtiberian deserters (not Numidians, as in L., 48.2), whom he praised (22.97); when the battle seemed lost, he joined Paullus and fought together with him on foot until both were killed. The story of the deserters is suspect (either wholly invented or much magnified, see introductory n. to 48), but Servilius' heroic death may be good historical fact; and some words with a friend may have been exchanged during the battle (Cichorius 1915: 141 n., first sentence).

46.4–6 This closely follows Pol. 3.114.1–4, and reinforces L.'s earlier point about Hannibal's army as a *colluvio* (43.2 and n.).

46.4 crederes: see 24.4n. and cf. 7.12n. (on *cerneres*).

46.5 scuta: long oblong shields (as opp. to *parmae*, short round shields or 'targets', as carried by the Numidians at 48.2). See Daly 2002: 65–7 and fig. 3. **dispares ac dissimiles gladii** 'their swords were different in size and appearance'. See Pol. 3.114.3 with *HCP* 445. This whole passage on the weapons and appearance of the Gaulish and Spanish troops is

closely derived from Pol. For the pair of adjectives, cf. 41.5 and n. **sine mucronibus** ‘without sharp points’ **punctim magis quam caesim** ‘to lunge rather than slash’, lit. ‘with the point rather than with a slashing blow’. See 7.10.5–9 with Oakley 1998: 134–6, citing Veget. *Mil.* 1.2, *non caesim sed punctim*. **habiles et cum mucronibus** ‘easily held and pointed’. **ante alios ... terribilis erat**: cf. Pol. 3.114.4, καταπληκτικὴν ... τὴν πρόσοψιν. For the Gauls in particular as terrifying in appearance and behaviour, see 5.37.8, Pol. 2.29.5–6 (with Daly 2002: 170 on the frightful noise they made; cf. Goldsworthy 2001: 129), and the other passages collected at Norden 1915: 111 n. 1, discussing Enn. 230 Sk (book VII fr. 16). See Oakley 1998: 140 (7.10.6n.: size) and 142 (7.10.8n.: noise).

46.6 nudi: cf. Claudius Quadrigarius *FRHist* 24 F6 (= Gell. 9.13.7), with *FRHist* III 302 (Briscoe), citing 38.21.9 and 38.46.3, as well as the present passage. **milium fuit quadraginta**: see introductory n. to 40.4–50.3.

46.7 sinistro Hasdrubal dextro Maharbal: see 48.5–6n. For this Hasdrubal see 45.5–49.18n.

46.8–9 sol seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita steterē ...: the role of chance is acknowledged, but only as one possibility; and in any case the sun is mentioned as an equalising factor because it affected neither side. L. here follows Pol. 3.114.8, who may be deliberately rejecting a version which sought to exculpate the Romans. Other sources, e.g. Val. Max. 7.4 ext. 2, claimed that the Romans were disadvantaged by having the sun in their eyes. See *HCP* 436 and Levene 2010: 285 and n. 54. **multo puluere**: two lines of Ennius, *Ann.* 264–5 Sk (book VIII frs. 8 and 9) refer to ‘a dust-cloud, *puluis*, extending to the far reaches of heaven’, and to the magnifying effect of the ‘slanting sunlight’, *obstipo lumine solis*; they both appear to refer to Cannae (for the dust, see Daly 2002: 43, suggesting that Ennius had talked to eye-witnesses); but it is not easy to say exactly what interpretative use Ennius made of these phenomena. According to Skutsch 1985: 444, line 265 implies that Ennius thought the Romans faced east, i.e. the battle was fought on the left not the right bank of the Aufidus. But that inference is not obviously right, and in any case Skutsch was unsure whether the frag. should be assigned to book VIII or to book XVII. For the dust blown by the Voltumnus, see already 43.10–11 and n., and for the Voltumnus itself, see 43.10n.

47.1 ab auxiliis ... deinde equitum ...: for this cavalry engagement, preceded by one between light-armed formations, see perhaps Enn. *Ann.* 263 Sk (book VIII fr. 7), *consequitur. summo sonitu quatit ungula terram*.

(An alternative context might be 28.10; see Skutsch 1985: 442, n. on the line.) Enn. *Ann.* 266 Sk (book VIII fr. 10) 'the spearmen discharge their spears; an iron rain results', may also belong somewhere here (cf. Skutsch 1985: 446, 'the initial phase of the battle'). **minime equestris more pugnae**: cf. Th. 1.49.2 (Sybota), it was more like a land-battle, a *πεζομαχία*, than a sea-battle. See also 49.4, *equitum pedestre proelium*. Cavalry battles usually took the form of repeated charges and withdrawals, cf. Sall. *Iug.* 59.3.

47.3 uir uirum amplexus pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat 'one man grappling another ... it became for the most part a battle on foot'. Cf. Pol. 3.115.3, 'they dismounted and fought man to man, συμπλεκόμενοι κατ' ἄνδρα'. The polyptoton *uir uirum* serves to express reciprocation.

47.5-6 impulere ... impulsis: for the polyptoton cf. 20.4n.

47.5 aequa fronte acieque densa: a chiasmus. Cf. perhaps Enn. *Ann.* 267 Sk (book VIII fr. 11) 'the men's bristling spears crowd thickly, *densantur*, on the plain'. The emendation *obliqua fronte* ('sloping front'), for which see app., is unnecessary and undesirable. **impulere**: see 47.6n. **cuneum** (lit.) 'wedge', but L.'s direct source Pol. (3.113.8) says that Hannibal made a crescent-shaped or half-moon formation, *μηνοειδές ποιῶν τὸ κύρτωμα*. Pol.'s word is more plausible: a wedge would imply a diagonal front protruding asymmetrically. See Seibert 1993b: 231.

47.6 referentibus pedem: 'retreating'; see *OLD* *refero* 2b. **in mediam primum aciem inlati**: this must refer to a further Roman forcing of the middle of the crescent-shaped formation, although L. has already said that they drove this in (*impulsis* above, and 47.5, *impulere*).

47.8 sinum 'a hollow'. **dedit** 'produced', cf. Tarrant 2012: 238 on *dant cuneum* at Virg. *Aen.* 12.575. **inruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis**: this moment was crucial; L. omits to say, what Pol. states clearly (3.115.11), that this result was 'according to Hannibal's intention', κατὰ τὴν Ἀννίβου πρόνοιαν: he intended that the crescent-shaped outward bulge of his own centre should flatten, straighten and eventually collapse under the impact of the Roman centre, which would then over-pursue and could be attacked on its flanks and surrounded.

47.9 defuncti nequiquam proelio uno 'who had finished one battle to no avail'. Cf. 1.25.9, and see *OLD* *defungor* 2a. See 47.10n.

47.10 fessi cum recentibus ac uegetis pugnabant ‘they were fighting tired, against men who were fresh and vigorous’; an important point. The exhaustion of the Romans (also at **49.5** and – after the battle – **52.2**) is an obviously plausible and important, but un-Polybian, detail. At **48.6**, it will be the ‘Africans’ on the Carthaginian side who are exhausted – but more by killing than by fighting, says L.; and at **50.4** (cf. **60.9**, Manlius Torquatus’ speech) the Carthaginians are *fatigati* from the battle and from feasting after it; see n. there. On battle fatigue at Cannae, see Daly 2002: 166–7, suggesting that neither side entered the battle exhausted, but that both sides thereafter suffered from it equally. But L.’s statement that the Romans in particular were tired (and no doubt disheartened) at having to deal with flank attacks by fresh, vigorous troops straight after finishing the first battle – victoriously as they thought – makes good sense: see **47.9** and **49.5** and nn.

48 The Ruse of the Pretended Numidian Desertion

This pretended surrender of the 500 Numidians can count as an example of ‘Carthaginian deception’ (**48.1n.**) only on the assumption that it was supposed to have been ordered by Hannibal or a colleague (see **48.2n.**), although L. does not say so explicitly. The ruse is not mentioned by Pol., so that Lazenby 1978: 84 can dismiss it on those grounds only, and the judgment of Cichorius 1915: 139 ‘... universally and rightly discarded’ remains true (though it is surely possible that some minor incident in the battle was remembered and reported by survivors, and then magnified by Roman patriotic tradition, see below). But the tradition is not purely Livian. Appian *Hann.* 22–3.96–104 narrates the pretended desertion of 500 Celtiberians (already mentioned at 20.88) who were received warmly by Servilius Geminus; see **45.8n.** Clearly, L. and App. are giving two versions of the same tradition, except that L. (i) writes of duplicitous Numidians not Celtiberians; (ii) speaks firmly at **48.1** of the Roman left whereas Appian is usually, e.g. by W–M and school editions, taken to imply that the action took place in the centre (although this is not clearly stated and Cichorius p. 139 took Appian to place it on the left, like L.); and (iii) L. ignores Servilius’ role. On this false or at best tendentiously inflated tradition these deserters, by their attack on the Roman rear, ‘to a large extent decided the outcome of the battle’ (Cichorius 1915: 139). The face-saving motive for the invention or distortion is to suggest that Rome’s greatest defeat was due to treachery; the alleged deserters have been erroneously allotted the role of Hasdrubal’s cavalry (Cornelius 1932: 71 for both these points, and for Hasdrubal’s decisive manoeuvres, see **48.5–6n.**). The best discussion of the whole episode is by Cichorius, in pages supplied to Norden 1915: 135–42, esp. 139. See further **49.6–12n.**

48.1 sinistro cornu Romano: commanded by Varro, **45.8**, who is however not mentioned until *alter consul* at **49.14**. **a Punica ... fraude:** a common phrase and an important theme in L., cf. 26.17.6 and 15, 30.22.6; Jaeger 1997: 99 with n. 13; Levene 2010: 216; Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 192–3, 203 and 224; Pausch 2019; see also Will 1983: 174 n. 8 for *Punica fides*. For the thought cf. also **6.12**, *Punica religio*, and on *fraus* see **28.6n**. But the idea and proverb was already there in Pol.: see 3.78.1 Φοινικικῶν στρατηγῆματι (Hannibal's wigs, cf. 1.3n.) with *HCP* 412; see further Introduction section 7(e).

48.2 arma telaque: this pair is often found in asyndeton; see **57.10n**. on *arma tela*, and Adams forthcoming. **gladios occultos:** the detail of the hidden swords is meant to suggest premeditation and planning, and this would tend to strengthen the idea that the supposed deception was executed on superior orders i.e. Hannibal's. **parmas post terga habentes:** that is, they pretended to come as friends, with their small round shields (**46.5n**.) on their backs 'pour bien montrer leurs intentions' (Vallet). **adequitassent:** see **42.5n**.

48.3 in mediam aciem: i.e. into the middle of the Roman left wing (cf. **48.1**).

48.4 tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes 'striking them from behind and cutting their hamstrings'. Enn. *Ann.* 287 Sk (book VIII fr. 13) might refer to this moment: 'Punic harsh arrogance, *superbia*, severed their thighs', *pernas*; after all, if L. could call the whole Numidian ruse a *Punica fraus*, Ennius could surely call it an example of Punic *superbia*. But the line might also refer to the mutilation of dying Romans after the battle, **51.7** (so Skutsch). Cutting hamstrings: cf. Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 28.

48.5–6 Hasdrubal qui ea parte praeerat ...: this should mean that Hasdrubal was in command of the Carthaginian right (cf. **48.1**); but at **46.7**, L. had said that Maharbal was in command of the right, Hasdrubal of the left. According to Pol. (3.116.6), Hasdrubal had indeed moved across from the left to help the Numidians – an action praised by Pol. for its skill and prudence, 3.113.7. (Lazenby 1978: 84 may be right that 'Hannibal had planned his [Hasdrubal's] manoeuvres', but Hannibal need not be given the credit for every initiative, or for superhuman prescience.) L. shows no clear knowledge of this crucial move, which – rather than the desertion of the 500 – enabled the Carthaginians to block off all escape by the Roman centre, because Hasdrubal's cavalry now rode right round to attack the Romans in the rear, Pol. 3.116.8, προσπεσὼν δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαικοῖς στρατοπέδοις κατὰ νώτου, where στρατόπεδον means 'army' not

‘camp’. There have been attempts to alter L.’s text so as to produce such knowledge, but it is better to conclude that he was confused, perhaps because he has switched sources without noticing a contradiction: Briscoe 2018: 75. See further 51.1–4n.

48.6 fessis caede magis quam pugna: see 47.10n.

49.1 parte altera pugnae: on the Roman right wing (45.8). **primo statim proelio funda grauitus ictus:** this early sling-shot wound is not in Pol. or App.; Pol. 3.116.9 has him die later after suffering serious wounds.

49.2 protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis: cf. 6.4 and n. (the consul Flaminius protected by shields).

49.3 ‘quam mallet, uinctos mihi traderet’: a triumphant joke. He means, in effect, that Paullus, by foolishly ordering his cavalymen to dismount, might just as well have handed them over to him tied and bound, *uinctos*.

49.4 equitum pedestre proelium: see 47.1n. **quale iam haud dubia hostium uictoria fuit:** *dubiā ... uictoriā* is a circumstantial ablative, and there is an ellipse of *fuisse*: a full version would be *quale fuisset si hostes haud dubie uicissent*.

49.5 labore ac uulneribus fessos: see 47.10n.

49.6–12 *Exchange between Lentulus and Paullus; Death of Paullus*

The narrative pace slows down suddenly (Buijs 2019: 281, and see 49.6n. for the abrupt introduction of Lentulus, which signals the change). The poignant conversation between Lentulus and Paullus is not in Pol.

Lentulus (for whom see 49.6n.) survived and escaped as urged by Paullus (49.12, cf. 49.9), so his oral report could have been the ultimate source for the episode, however much it was written up rhetorically by L. or his literary predecessor (perhaps Coelius: so Norden 1915: 141 n. 1). There is no reason to disbelieve it entirely. Perhaps Lentulus needed to explain afterwards at Rome how and why he had escaped when others in the immediate vicinity did not: ‘with his last words, the consul told me to. I had even offered him my horse, and anyway it then bolted’ (see 49.12n.).

L.’s literary and historical technique in 48–49 is illustrated both by what he takes from the non-Polybian tradition and what he leaves. He could not resist the story of Lentulus and Paullus (an opportunity for some moving

rhetoric by both men), and he retained the patriotic fiction or exaggeration of the role of the 500 pretended deserters, who provided an explanation of the defeat at Cannae as due in part to treachery (introductory n. to 48). But he left out the heroic actions and death of the ex-consul Servilius, although this motif was evidently central to the account of Appian and probably also that of Ennius. L. must have been well aware of this last and possibly truthful narrative thread, but he suppressed it in favour of a simple binary opposition between impetuous Varro and cautious Paullus.

See 45.8n. for the conversation between Servilius and a friend during the battle, and for the suggestion that this exchange was a counterpart to that between Lentulus and Paullus.

49.6 Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum: Lentulus is abruptly introduced as part of the change of narrative pace: 49.6–12n., citing Buijs 2019. Cornelius (176) Lentulus went on to be quaestor in 212 (25.19.4, cf. 49.16n.), and on one version received from Hannibal the head of the treacherously killed proconsul Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and saw to its burial (25.17.7). He was then consul in 201, after Zama, when he had a burning wish (*cupiditate flagrabat*) to be assigned Africa as his province, so that he and not Scipio could reap the glory of finishing off the war against Carthage: 30.40.7. Instead he received command of the fleet, and campaigned unsuccessfully. See *MRR* I 268–9 and 319. See Introduction section 9 p. 77.

49.7 insontem culpaē cladis: see 43.8n. **cape hunc equum:** this offer was written up by Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 10.273–5.

49.8 lacrimarum satis luctusque: for this pair of nouns, see Oakley 1997: 416 (6.3.4n.), and for tears in L. see 61.3n.

49.9 macte uirtute esto ‘God bless you for your courage!’; cf. 2.12.14 with Ogilvie 1965: 265; 7.36.5 (Decius to his men); 23.15.14 and, most famously, Virg. *Aen.* 9.641 (Apollo to Ascanius) with Hardie 1994: 205–6: *macte noua uirtute, puer, sic itur ad astra*. See *OLD* *macte* (and §2 for the combination with *uirtute*): ‘orig. voc. of MACTUS [‘blessed’], but treated as indecl.’; *mactus* is thought to be a verbal adjective from an unattested verb *mago, magere*, ‘make great’. Whether truthfully to the facts or not, L. has put a generous and moving address in the mouth of the consul, sitting on a rock, soaked in blood and waiting to die or be killed. Silius (10.277) could not resist versifying L. closely here: *macte o uirtute paterna!*

49.10 abi, nuntia publice patribus ‘Go, tell the senators publicly’. Cf. 3.13n. (Flaminius) for the asyndeton and the slang idiom, suitable for addressing a subordinate. It is hard to think of a literary reason why L. should make the noble and despairing Paullus after Cannae echo the angry and rash Flaminius before Trasimene; it would be easier if the speaker here were Varro. Perhaps the point lies precisely in the various contrasts.

De Bakker and van der Keur 2019: 323–4 see here, and in *praeceptorum eius memorem* below, an allusion to the famous Thermopylae epigram at Hdt. 7.228.2 in which the imagined stranger is asked to tell the Spartans that ‘we lie here obedient to their commands’ (but the hallowed translation they adopt, namely ‘Go tell the Spartans’, is an over-translation of the simple ἀγγέλλειν, so that *abi* should be left out of the comparison – it is absent from Cicero’s translation of the epigram at *Tusc.* 1.101: *dic, hospes*.... In any case, Flaminius’ use of the same words in a different situation (see above on 3.13) reduces the value of the Thermopylae parallel). On this sentence see also Adema 2019: 308–9 and 312. **urbem Romam muniant**: the first occurrence in the decade of this important theme; cf. 55.1. **priuatum Q. Fabio**: by contrast with *publice* above. At 40.1, in his brief and gloomy reply in indirect speech to Fabius’ long direct speech of warning in 39, Paullus had admitted that Fabius was right.

49.11 ne aut reus iterum: for this earlier episode in Paullus’ career, see 35.3 and 40.3, with nn. **alieno crimine** ‘by blaming another’; *alieno* is the equivalent of an objective genitive.

49.12 Lentulum ... abripuit equus: see 49.1–12n. The verb may imply that the horse bolted, so that its rider’s flight was involuntary.

49.13 For the figures here (all these men would eventually be captured), see 49.18n.

49.14 consul alter: Varro has not been mentioned, whether by name or office, since 45.8; he was in command of the Roman left, which featured at 48.1. Both Pol. and L. pass over in silence his personal role during the battle. The contrast between the attention given to Varro and Paullus is marked, see Buijs 2019: 281. **Venusiam perfugit**: SW of Cannae, in Apulia, on the Appian Way, mod. Venosa; a Latin colony since 291, and the birthplace of Horace. See *OCD*⁴ and *Barr.* map 45 C3.

49.15 quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites: elsewhere (e.g. at 59.5, and in other speeches) L. rounds this up to 50,000. Pol. has ‘about

70,000' and 10,000 prisoners: 3.117.3–4. *HCP* 440 reckons that this figure of 70,000 was reached by subtracting the number of prisoners from the legionary total of 8 x (5,000 Romans + 5,000 allies = 10,000), excluding cavalry and ignoring survivors, and concludes that 'any estimate of casualties is likely to be unreliable' (cf. Brunt 1971: 419 'casualty figures are commonly suspect'; Lazenby 1978: 84); see also Seibert 1993b: 231–2. L. is probably a good deal closer to the truth, cf. Brizzi 2016: 136.

tantadem prope ciuium sociorumque pars: P has *etanta*, which is not a Latin word. The intended meaning is clearly that Roman and allied losses were more or less the same. *tantadem* (Madvig, but, believing that the original Roman and allied troop numbers were not the same, took *tantadem ... pars* to mean the proportion of Roman allied losses was almost the same) gives the meaning 'the citizen and allied parts of the total casualties were almost the same'. L. writes *tantumdem* on seven occasions, and it is not an objection that the feminine does not occur elsewhere.

ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus: For Atilius (13) and Furius (35), see *MRR* I 249, but nothing else is known about them apart from their rank and their deaths. Quaestors were young men in their late 20s, and had often served already as military tribunes (43.8n.); Lentulus is an example of this (49.6). They were sometimes, as here, attached to magistrates or pro-magistrates abroad. See *OCD*¹ 'quaestor'.

49.16 inter eos Cn. Seruilius Geminus et M. Minucius numerant: for Servilius see 45.8n. and for Minucius 8.6n.

49.17 unde in senatum legi deberent: presumably by the censors at the next census, under a law of the fourth century; see Oakley 2005a: 384–9 (9.30.1n.); or briefly *OCD*¹ 'Ovinus'.

49.18 capta eo proelio ... dicuntur: to the figures which L. here gives for Roman prisoners taken in the battle (3,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry) must be added those taken in the two camps. At 49.13, L. says that 7,000 escaped to the smaller, 10,000 to the larger camp. 600 of these escaped to Canusium with Sempronius Tuditanus (50.11), 4,200 later (52.4), so the total captured in the camps was 12,200, but not equally divided between the two. This is based on L.'s figures and does not take account of Pol. 3.117.7–11, which would add another 8,000 (10,000 men were left in camp by Paullus before the battle, of whom 2,000 were killed by Hannibal; see 52.4n.). Total of those taken in the camps: 20,200. For different calculations see Lazenby 1978: 84; Seibert 1993b: 231 n. 63.

For Hannibal's losses, see 52.6n.

50.1 A deliberate parallel to 7.1, at the conclusion of the Trasimene narrative. Cf. App. *Hann.* 25.108 ‘this was the end of the battle at Cannae’. **haec est:** compare *hic exitus* in obituary notices in historical writers; see 7.1n., citing Oakley. This is, for Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 224, the first ‘coda’ of the whole Cannae narrative, cf. 22.4–21n.; the second is at 22.61.10. **Alliensi cladi:** the battle of the Allia, where the Roman army was defeated by the Gauls, is narrated by L. at 5.37–8. It took place on 18 July 390 (Varr.); see Oakley 1997: 396 (6.1.11n.). The Allia (mod. Fosso della Bettina; *Barr.* map 43B1, but not named) was a small stream which joined the Tiber c.30km. north of Rome. **nobilitate par** ‘equally famous’. Cf. 7.1 *nobilis* and 43.9 *nobilitandas*. The Allia was deeply embedded in the Roman public memory.

50.2–3 L. says, rightly or wrongly, that the far larger number of casualties at Cannae was due to the fact that at the Allia the Roman army fled (though the Cannae army was probably four times as large; cf. Intro. pp. 82–4); but when he implies that the Gallic invasion would have been replicated if Hannibal had decided to march on Rome immediately after the battle (cf. 51.2–4nn.), he forgets that the Allia was only a little north of Rome (see above), whereas Cannae was c.300 km. to the SE (as the crow flies): even if Hannibal had begun to march soon after the battle (he would have had to give his troops a few days to recover), the Romans would have known he was on the way and had time to prepare the defence of the city.

50.3 fugientem ... secuti sunt: cf. 49.14n. **alterius ... exercitus fuit:** for full discussion see Briscoe 2018: 77. The text is that of P, apart from the obvious change of *totius* to *totus*. Editors and critics have rightly taken it to mean that almost the whole army died with Paullus (L. here ignores the captives and those who escaped to Canusium with Sempronius Tuditanus; see 4–12 and cf. Pol. 3.117.2–4). The expression is striking, but L. probably chose it as an effective conclusion to his account of Rome’s greatest ever defeat. For proposed supplements see app.

50.4–61 THE AFTERMATH OF CANNAE

In L., the aftermath gets more space than the battle, as has often been noticed (most recently Van Gils and Kroon 2019: 225, cf. Oakley 2019: 170, who remarks that in this way L. avoided making Cannae the climax of the narrative). Coelius narrated the battle of Cannae in book 1 of his history but appears to have divided the immediate aftermath between books 1 and 2 (cf. *FRHist* I 259). By including it all in book 22, L. is able to

conclude the book with the set-piece debate between the representatives of the Roman captives and T. Manlius Torquatus, followed by the senate's decision on their fate, the (partly anachronistic) list of defecting states and the expression of gratitude to Varro. This allows him to begin book 23 with the account of the defection of Capua.

Bruckmann (1936: 90–100) provides a detailed and perceptive analysis of this part of L.'s narrative. See now Oakley 2019: 170–82.

50.4 binis in castris: see 44.1, 49.13. In what follows, L. devotes considerable space to the fortunes of those in the camps; see Oakley 2019: 170. **sine ducibus:** there were no magistrates or *legati* in the camps. Military tribunes (50.6, and cf. 43.8n.) did not count as *duces* (cf. 25.37.2–5, the survivors from the defeats of the Scipios elect L. Marcius Septimus, an *eques*, as commander; cf. 53.3n.). **proelio ... fatigatos:** the Carthaginians were exhausted by the battle and sent to sleep by food and drink; cf. 47.10n. Ennius *Ann.* 288 Sk *nunc hostes uino domiti somnoque sepulti* may come from his account of this episode; see Skutsch 1985: 464, and cf. 50.10n. **Canusium:** mod. Canosa di Puglia, c.12 km. SW of Cannae (*Barr.* map 45 D2).

50.5 alii ... possent: i.e. each group should remain where they were.

50.6–9 capi ... uoltis: L. gives Sempronius a brief but powerful *oratio recta* speech.

50.6 P. Sempronius Tuditanus: (96). He was curule aedile (26.3n.) in 214, praetor in 213, with command prorogued for 212 and 211, and censor in 209. In 205, as proconsul, he concluded the Peace of Phoenice, which brought the First Macedonian War to an end, and reached the consulship in 204, with command prorogued for 203. From 201 to 199 he was a member of the embassy to the East, which, in 200, delivered the declaration of war to Philip V at Abydos. Cf. Briscoe 1973: 57 (31.2.3n.).

L.'s abrupt introduction of Sempronius is effective, and would be spoilt by Luchs' addition of *tum*. **mauoltis ... uestra ... sis ...:** L. begins with the plural, Sempronius addressing all those in the camp. *sis* is motivated by the fact that the Carthaginians are asking each soldier individually whether he is a Roman citizen or an ally, and L. continues with *tua* and, in 7, *tu* because Sempronius is now talking only to the Roman citizens: he then reverts to the plural, to emphasise that all the Romans present are collectively fellow-citizens of Paullus and of those who died with him. **auarissimo et crudelissimo:** L. frequently describes the Carthaginians, and Hannibal in particular, as cruel and greedy, using both

adjectives and nouns, but this is the only instance of the superlative in this context. At 21.44.5, L. allows Hannibal to describe the Romans as *crudelissima ac superbissima gens*. *aestimarique ... socius*: Sempronius envisages the Carthaginians deciding on a ransom price, then asking each man whether he was a Roman citizen or an ally, and the latter asking the price when they replied; for what actually happened see 52.1-3. *Latinus socius*: both Latins and Italian allies are meant; cf. 7.5n.; the formulation *Latinus socius* is unique. *ex tua ... quaeratur*: Sempronius is thinking of what happened after Trasimene, when Hannibal freed non-Romans without ransom (7.5); this time he merely imposed a lower price (52.2). *honus* 'privilege'.

50.7 *bene ... uiuere*: L. thus summarises 49.9-11. *ciues* 'fellow-citizens'.

50.8 *opprimit ... obsaepiunt*: for *antequam* and *priusquam* with the present indicative and a positive main clause, giving a future sense, cf. 2.40.5, 25.6.6.

inordinati atque incompressi: see 56.2n. At least some of them were Numidians (50.11). *obstrepunt* 'are making a noise'.

50.9 *ferro ... hostes*: cf. 59.5n. *ferro atque audacia uia fit*: cf. 5.2 *ferro uiam fieri*; 4.38.4 *ui uiam faciunt*; Virg. *Aen.* 2.494 *fit uia ui*. Virgil's line was much repeated in both the Renaissance and later, but in Classical Latin only at Sen. *Epist.* 37.3. *cuneo*: a wedge-shaped formation; cf. Oakley 1998: 226 (7.24.7n.). *disicias* 'you would be able to break through'; potential subjunctive. Here the singular is strange, since it refers to the collective effect of the *cuneus* and is followed by plurals in the next sentence; it is surprising that the plural *disiciatis* has never been suggested. *uosmet ... saluam uolitis*: who desire the safety of both yourselves and the state'. *rem publicam saluam uelle* is a standard Roman formula; cf. 53.7; Briscoe 1981: 90 (34.25.9n.).

50.10 *haec ubi dicta dedit*: an epic phrase, used eight times by Virgil; L. also uses *dicta dare*, found a further three times in Virgil, at 3.61.7 and 29.2.12; cf. Oakley 1998: 327-8 (7.33.11n.). It is possible that it stood in Ennius and was taken over by Coelius (cf. 50.4n., and Skutsch 1985: 450); for Coelius as an imitator of Ennius see *FRHist* 15T6. *haec ... medios* constitutes one and a half hexameters, but that may well be accidental.

50.11 *translatis in dextrum scutis*: Coelius *FRHist* 15F16 *dextimos in dextris scuta iubet habere* clearly belongs to Coelius' account of this episode and shows that he was L.'s source; see *FRHist* III 249. *ad sescenti*: cf. 31.5n. for *ad* as 'about'.

50.12 Cf. 7.39.16 *suo magis inde impetu quam consilio ducis*. **impetu animorum** 'the impulse provided by their confidence'. **agebantur**: *agebatur* in the OCT is a misprint.

51.1-4 Maharbal's Advice

This famous story is not in Pol. (whose book 4 switches to Greek affairs after Cannae). It was told by Cato (*FRHist* 5F78-9) and adapted by Coelius (*FRHist* 15F22. In Cato, Maharbal's punch line comes on the following day, after Hannibal had accepted his proposal, while L. achieves 'dramatic unity' by placing it immediately after Hannibal's initial response. L.'s source cannot be determined (cf. 51.2n.). Even Maharbal's role at Cannae itself has been thought doubtful; at *FRHist* III 127 Cornell says that Pol. makes Hasdrubal and Hanno the cavalry commanders at Cannae, but what Pol. says at 3.114.7 is that they were in command of the wings, i.e. both cavalry and infantry. See 48.5-6n., 50.2-3n., Oakley 2019: 177-80.

The question underlying the remarks ascribed to Maharbal (51.2n.) has been much discussed. Criticism of Hannibal for not marching against Rome straight away is probably misplaced: he was not equipped to undertake a siege of such magnitude, and Rome was distant and not defenceless (50.2-3n.). See Lazenby 1978: 85-6, rejecting Field-Marshal Montgomery's opinion, which was in favour of Maharbal. For this passage as an implied counterfactual speculation ('what if Hannibal had marched on Rome straight after Cannae?'), see Introduction section 7(d).

51.1-2 A clear and effective period.

51.1 Plutarch (*Fab.* 17.1-2) makes Hannibal's friends (φίλοι) urge him to march on Rome and ascribes Maharbal's remark to 'Barca'. **tanto perfunctus bello**: *bellum* can refer to a single battle (cf. *TLL* II 1824.69-1827.10; first at *Ann.* 160 Sk), but there is no other example of the usage in L., and he probably intends to indicate that the rest of Hannibal's officers assumed that Cannae had effectively brought the war to an end. **diei ... quietem** 'the peace of what was left of the day and the ensuing night'.

51.2 **Maharbal praefectus equitum**: Cato, in accordance with his policy of referring to commanders by their office rather than their name (cf. *FRHist* I 214-15), calls him just *magister equitum* (and Hannibal *dictator*). It is likely that L. took the name and office from Coelius, but Pol. makes no mention of Maharbal in his Cannae narrative (he refers to him only at 3.84.14). On Maharbal cf. 6.11n. At 15.8 Carthalo is said to be the cavalry commander, but that is in the previous year. **immo ...**

praecedam: Cato expressed himself in two main clauses, a total of eleven words, Coelius in one sentence consisting of five clauses and containing twenty-one words, L. in two sentences, separated by a stand-alone imperative, consisting, respectively, of three and two clauses and containing twenty-four words. **inquit:** for *inquit* postponed to a clause other than the first, cf. *TLL* VII 1.1791.69–1792.10; at 23.12.10 it comes in the third sentence of the speech.

51.3 laeta ‘optimistic’. **capere animo** ‘comprehend’.

51.4 temporis opus esse: a rare instance of *opus esse* + gen.; cf. 23.21.5, K–St I 388. **non omnia ... uti nescis:** Cato (*FRHist* 5F79) has *sero est ... iam rescuere* (Caelius’ version does not survive); cf. 56.3, 58.1. For *non omnia ... dedere* cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.320, *Od.* 8.167. Virgil’s proverbial *non omnia possumus omnes* (*Ecl.* 8.63; cf. 7.23) is first found in Lucilius (218M); cf. Hom. *Il.* 13.729, *Rhet. Her.* 4.8, Macr. *Sat.* 5.16.7; Otto 1890: 254–5.

51.5 insistunt ‘proceeded’; see app. (cf. OCT 370, correcting 141); for *insistere* used absolutely cf. Caes. *Gall.* 6.5.1.

51.6–9 A powerful picture of the horrors of the slaughter.

51.6 aut pugna ... fuga ‘as chance had brought them together in the battle or the rout’ (Foster); the word order reflects the fact that the vast majority died on the battlefield. **stricta** ‘tightened’.

51.7 reliquum ... haurire: they beg the Carthaginians to put them out of their misery. Cf. 48.4n.

51.8 inuenti ... apparebat ‘some were found with their heads buried in earth they had dug up; it appeared that they had made their own pits (*fou eas*) and had suffocated by covering their faces with the earth which had been thrown on top of them’.

51.9 This famous episode is also narrated, from L., by Val. Max. 3.2.11. Silius (6.42–53) places it at Trasimene and lets both men die, as well as giving them names, saying that the Roman came from Privernum and converting the Numidian into a Nasamonian. **superincubanti:** a hapax, no doubt coined by L. See Introduction section 6 p. 30. **cum ... exspirasset:** a change of subject from the Numidian to the Roman, but there is no ambiguity, and supplementation (see app.) is misguided; indeed, L. may have thought that it added to the effect of his narrative. **dentibus:** compare perhaps (with De Bakker and van der Keur 2019: 320–1) the last-ditch ferocity of the Spartans at Thermopylae: Hdt.

7.225.3, where στόμασι must mean ‘teeth’; see Wilson 2015: 225, citing some other uses of teeth *in extremis*.

52.1 brachio ‘rampart’; cf. *OLD brac(c)hium* 7.

52.2–3 in capita ... uestimentis: these are the terms for their eventual release, later modified by Hannibal (58.4n.).

52.2 in capita ... centenis: sc. *pretio edicto (uel sim.)*; cf. 50.6n. **nummis quadrigatis**: probably didrachms, called *quadrigati* because they portray Jupiter in a chariot, *quadriga*. Pol. 6.58.5 gives a figure of three minae, equivalent to 300 drachmae and probably the result of wrongly equating a drachma with the *denarius* of his own time. Cf. Crawford 1974: II 630.

52.3 singulis abirent uestimentis: cf. 6.11n.

52.4 A tortuous period: *interea*, as often, picks up *dum*, but belongs to the *cum* clause (*cum ... perfugissent*); the latter contains a relative clause (*quibus ... fuit*) and a participial construction (*alii ... agros*), on which depends another relative clause (*quod ... erat*); the period concludes with the main clause (*castra ... hosti*).

Pol. 3.117.7–11 says that Paullus left 10,000 men in the camp (cf. 59.9), 2,000 of whom were killed by Hannibal after the battle. **hominum**: for *homines* ‘infantry’ cf. Oakley 2005a: 250 (9.19.5n.). **Canusium**: cf. 50.4n.

52.5 si quid argenti: sc. *erat*; cf. Briscoe 2012a: 478 (44.5.1n.). **phaleris**: metal ornaments worn by horses. The word is also used of military decorations worn by soldiers. **nam ... utebantur**: a general remark about the absence of *luxuria* at this time; cf. Briscoe 2008: 225–7 (39.6.7–9n.). **perexiguo**: L. uses *perexiguus* seven times; before him it occurs eight times in Cicero and thrice in Caesar. **utique militantes** ‘at least when on campaign’, as if anyone would imagine that the cavalry had brought a large amount of silver plate with them. **utique**: ‘as being’.

52.6 ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur: Pol. (3.117.6) says the Carthaginian losses were about 4,000 Celts, 1,500 Spanish and African troops and 200 cavalry. **conquisitum**: cf. 7.5n.

52.7 Busa

A rare tribute to a woman and a non-Roman at that. It is also an indication of the wealth possessed by some of the Italian elite. (*Per.* 72 records

that a Roman commander in the Social War had been captured by the Lucanians but saved by a woman with whom he was lodging; cf. *FRHist* III 381.) Busa is unusual among L.'s women in possessing independent agency and property power. For her possible relationship to Bouzos son of Orteiras of, precisely, Canusium, rewarded at Delos with proxeny a generation before Busa (*IG XI* (4) 642, cf. *LGPNI* IIIA 93), see Hornblower 2019. As argued there, he was perhaps a forerunner of the many wealthy Italian traders attested on Delos later in the Hellenistic period, and this might explain Busa's own wealth if she was a close relative or even daughter.

The episode is also narrated, from L., by Val. Max. 4.8.2. See also 54.3–4.

52.7 Busa: for similar names, mainly Illyrian, cf. Schulze 1904: 38 n. 2 and cf. Robert 1963: 321 n. 1. For the ease and frequency of migration due west across the Adriatic from Illyria to Apulia, see Hornblower 2019: 73. In many respects, Busa's family would, on the above interpretation, resemble that of the Apulian Dasii or Dazi, who are also attested as traders on Delos, and are onomastically attested on both sides of the Adriatic. It is clear that they were in fact originally Illyrian (*LGPNI* IIIA 104 for various Illyrian names in Daz-). For this see Hornblower 2015: 267 (n. on Lyc. *Alex.* 623) and 2019: 74 n. 34; for Dasius Altinius see 61.10–12n. On Busia wife of Dasimius (Hornblower 2019: 73 n. 30), see also Groag 1929: 94 n. 5. Thanks to John Morgan for reminding us of the Illyrian aspect to the Dazi, and for pointing out the similarity of the endings of the names Bou-zos and Da-zos. **ei:** the unstressed pronoun stands in the second available position in the clause (*pro qua* form a unit), an example of Wackernagel's Law, cf. 1.7n. **postea bello perfecto ab senatu honores habiti sunt:** for the prolepsis (which surely assumes the eventual Roman victory), see Introduction n. 141.

53.1 ceterum 'moreover'. **tribuni militum:** the highest ranking of those who had reached Canusium (presumably all the *legati* had been killed). The omission of Sempronius Tuditanus (50.6–12) is inexplicable and must be an error by L. or his source. In view of his feat as there narrated, one would have expected him to be chosen as one of the leaders.

53.1–2 de legione prima ... secunda ... tertia: for official legion numbers cf. 57.8n.; Briscoe 2008: 26 n. 55; 2012a: 21 n. 54, 29–30.

53.1 Fabius Maximus: cf. 23.8n.

53.2 L. Publicius Bibulus: (16). Not otherwise known. C. Publicius Bibulus, perhaps his brother, was tribune of the plebs in 209, when

he unsuccessfully proposed a bill to abrogate Marcellus' command (27.20.11–21.4). **P. Cornelius Scipio:** (336). The first mention of the future Africanus in book 22; cf. 21.46.8; here L. does not think it necessary to expatiate. **Ap. Claudius Pulcher:** (293). Praetor in 215 and consul in 212, he was the grandson of Ap. Claudius Caecus and the great-great-grandfather of Cicero's great enemy P. Clodius, tribune in 58. **proxime aedilis fuerat:** doubtless in 217: patricians held the curule aedileship (26.3n.) in 'odd-numbered' years and *proxime* is used for variation on *priore anno* above (MRR I 246 n.7).

53.3 Cf. 25.37.2–5, where L. Marcius Septimus, an *eques*, is elected by the army in Spain as its leader after the death of the Scipios (cf. 50.4n.). **admodum adulescentem** 'just a youth'; for *admodum* used thus with words denoting age, cf. Briscoe 2008: 263 (39.13.6n.). Scipio was probably born in 236; cf. HCP II 199. *adulescentem et ad* is omitted in P (a scribe's eye moved from *ad(modum)* to *ad*), but, *et* apart, is not in doubt; see app.

53.4 P. Furius ... filius: cf. 35.5n. L. appears not to have made the connection and realised that the consular father was a praetor in office. **deperatam ... publicam** 'the state was the object of despair and mourning'.

53.5 L. Caecilium Metellum: (73). The *praenomen* is transmitted as Lucius here and in 11 but Marcus at 24.18.3 (at 24.43.2 it is omitted in P, probably by haplography); Val. Max., in passages derived from L., has Marcus at 2.9.8 but Quintus at 5.6.7. If L. is correct here, he may be the son of the consul of 251 and 247 (72), who was *pontifex maximus* from c.243 to 221. **regum aliquem:** one of the Hellenistic kings; cf. 23.10.11–13, 24.26.1, of the Campanian Decius Magius and the Syracusan Zosippus, respectively, taking refuge at the court of Ptolemy IV Philopator. For literary precursors of the 'let's abandon Rome' motif, cf. 5.49.8–55 (proposal to move the capital to Veii), and Hor. *Epode* 16 (itself indebted to the Phocaeen narrative at Hdt. 1.165).

53.6–13 There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this episode; cf. Ridley 1975.

53.6 nouum 'a new blow'. **stupore ... qui aderant** 'had stunned those present, numbed by bewilderment and amazement'. Cf. the very similar language at 3.47.6 and 6.40.1. L. is the first writer to use *miraculum* in the sense of 'amazement', doing so also at 5.39.1–2 and 25.9.14; see also Tac. *Hist.* 3.25.3, 5.23.2. **fatalis dux huiusce belli** 'the predestined leader

of this war' (Foster); thus also of Camillus at 5.19.2 (see Davies 2004: 109), and of Scipio again at 30.28.11. On this description and its strongly providential implications for Rome, see Liebeschuetz 2009: 371–2. See Introduction section 7 pp. 57–8 and section 8 n. 182.

53.7 audendum atque agendum: cf. 14.14n. **rem publicam saluam uellent:** cf. 50.9n.

53.9 pergit ire: cf. 19.4n.

53.10 L. makes Scipio begin by reciting the oath which he is forcing the conspirators to take, causing both the reader and the internal audience momentary puzzlement.

ex mei animi sententia 'in all sincerity'; cf. 43.15.8, with Briscoe 2012a: 438. **rem publicam populi Romani:** on this phrase see Oakley 1998: 492–3 (8.9.8n.); cf. 10.2, 3n. **ut ... patiar:** a final clause depending on an unexpressed *iuro*; cf. K–St II 224.

53.11 fallo 'break my oath'; cf. *TLL* VI 181.65–73. *si sciens fallo* is formulaic; in this case, it is hard to see how one could unwittingly (*insciens*; cf. 10.5 and 6) desert the state or allow someone else to do so. **familiam:** slaves as well as wife and children. **remque meam:** property, both landed and financial.

53.13 uictorem Hannibalem: perhaps, like *fatalis dux*, alluding to Scipio being the eventual victor.

54.1 Venusiam: cf. 49.14n. **ad quattuor ... fuerant:** at 49.12–14 L. mentioned only those who reached the camps, the village of Cannae or, with Varro, Venusia. For *ad* 'about', also at 54.4, cf. 31.5n.

54.2 togas et tunicas: for the wearing of togas and tunics in camp, cf. 38.9n., 29.3.5, 36.3, 44.16.4; Briscoe 2012a: 513 (44.16.4n.), not mentioning the first two passages. Only 44.16.4, however, concerns an army on campaign: the passages of book 29 refer to soldiers in pacified areas, the present one to a very unusual situation. **quadrigatos:** cf. 52.2n.

54.3 publice ac priuatim: cf. 22.13n., 49.10. **hospitaliter:** cf. Briscoe 2012a: 236 (42.25.13n.).

54.3–4 muliere Canusina ... Busae: 52.7 and n. The choice of the neutral *mulier* (not the usually more complimentary *femina*) does not by itself

imply disparagement: see Adams 1972. In any case, L. had used *mulier* at 52.7, where the description of Busa is evidently approving.

54.4 ad decem milia: the increase was presumably the result of the arrival of further survivors. It is unlikely that L. is including the men brought by Varro at 6: had that been so he would have written *nam Appius et Scipio* in 5. Moreover, *Appiusque et Scipio* implies a close connection with the preceding sentence: Appius and Scipio suggested to Varro that they should bring the troops to Venusia in order to spare Busa further expense; perhaps Varro promised both Busa and Canusium itself that further expenditure resulting from his arrival would be reimbursed by Rome. On *ad* see 54.1n.

54.5 nuntium ... quantae ... essent: the indirect question depends directly on *nuntium*, with a verb of saying understood; so too with accusative + infinitive (cf. K–St I 696) and indirect commands; cf. Briscoe 2008: 261 (39.11.5n. on *nuntium*). **sciscitatumque** ‘to enquire’; the regular supine after a verb of motion; cf. Gildersleeve and Lodge 1895: 283–4.

54.5–6 utrum ... traduxit: Appius and Scipio ask Varro whether they should join him at Venusia or stay at Canusium; he rejects both alternatives and instead brings his forces to Canusium.

54.6 aliqua ... exercitus: a total of 14,500 (1, 4); a consular army of two legions plus allied contingents would have numbered c.17,000. Pol. 3.117.3 says that only 3,000 survivors escaped captivity; see Intro. p. 82. **moenibusque ... defensuri:** the walls of Canusium would enable them to resist a Carthaginian attack, but if the walls were breached, they would have no chance. In fact, Hannibal had better things to do than spend time attacking Canusium. Cf. Oakley 2005a: 294–5 (9.23.11n.).

54.7–61.4 On these chapters see Jaeger 1997: 99–105.

54.7 occidione occisum: for this *figura etymologica*, perhaps an archaism for L., see Oakley 2005a: 485 (9.38.3n). **cum duobus <...> exercitum:** for full discussion see Briscoe 2018: 77. P has *duobus exercitibus*, leaving *occisum* without a noun agreeing with it; the lacuna will have mentioned the consuls.

54.8 salua urbe: L. thus indicates that the panic after the Allia and the Gallic capture of Rome was greater. **itaque ... faciam** ‘so I shall give way under the burden and not attempt to narrate things which by describing

in detail I would make appear less than they actually were'. At 7.6–13 L. gave a long and detailed description of the panic after Trasimene and perhaps did not feel able to improve on it in describing the reaction to a far greater disaster. But Oakley (2019: 171) suggests a 'deeper reason': L. thought that a description of tumult and lamentation would have detracted from what he says in 54.10–11 about unflinching Roman courage, *animus*. **edissertando**: *edissertare*, used by L. as a choice alternative to *edisserere*, occurs four times in Plautus, only here in L. and not again before the elder Pliny.

54.9 non uolnus ... militem esse: *nuntiabatur* has to be understood both with *non uolnus ... clades* and as the subject of the following accusative and infinitive. For a similar change of construction, cf. 5.41.9. **non uolnus super uolnus** 'not just blow upon blow'. **multiplex** 'many times as great' (Foster).

54.10 Hannibalis ... factam: *ac iam prope totam Italiam* is a considerable exaggeration, emphatically added to *Apuliam Samnium*, an *asyndeton bimembre*.

nulla ... obruta esset: the supreme example of Roman resilience in the face of adversity. L. repeats the idea at 61.13–15, thus ending the book with its, and the whole third decade's, central motif. On this, and the comparison with Carthage which follows, cf. Oakley 2019: 171, 181–2. Cf. 42.62.11–13, on the refusal of P. Licinius Crassus to negotiate with Perseus after his victory at the battle of Callicinus in 171. Pol. (3.118.9) thought that it was the strength of the constitution which enabled Rome to recover from Cannae.

54.11 compares: for the second person singular, an authorial apostrophe or address to the reader by the narrator, see 7.12n. **cladem ... acceptam**: on the battle of the Aegates Islands, see 14.13n. The islands lay off the NW coast of Sicily (*Barr.* map 47 A2–3). **Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere**: Carthaginian withdrawal from Sicily was part of the terms of the Treaty of Catulus in 241 (Pol. 1.62.8); but it was in 237, not as a direct result of the battle, that Rome took advantage of Carthaginian weakness after the Mercenary War to annex Sardinia and force Carthage to accept a *fait accompli* (Pol. 1.88.8–12; *HCP* 149–50). **†in†**: see app. and Briscoe 2018: 78, enlarging on the suggestion in his OCT that *in* should be deleted. **pugnam ... succubuit**: the battle of Zama in 202 (30.29–35). **nulla ... latae sunt**: an illogical form of expression, caused by L.'s desire to pick up *compares* above: if L. means that they were not comparable in respect of the huge losses suffered by the losers, they were equally

not so in respect of the losers' reaction; if he means that they could be compared in respect of the latter, so they could in respect of the former. **nisi quod** 'except for the fact that'. **minore animo latae sunt**: it would have been totally unrealistic for Carthage to continue to resist after either the Aegates Islands or Zama. For *minore animo* cf. 61.14n.

55.1 P. Furius ... praetores: cf. 35.5n.; Furius and Pomponius are the urban and peregrine praetors, respectively. **curiam Hostiliam**: the normal meeting place of the senate, at the northern end of the forum (cf. Briscoe 2012a: 141, 41.27.7n.). L. usually calls it just *curia*, and the only other place where he gives its full name is 5.55.1; it is unclear why he chose to do so here. **ut de urbis custodia consulerent**: cf. 49.10n., also 26.9.9.

55.2 The reader knows, as the Romans themselves do not, that this is not Hannibal's intention. See 51.1–4n. *quod ... restaret* describes their belief; hence the subjunctive.

55.3 nondum ... complorarentur: though the facts were not yet known, both the living and the dead were being lamented as if they were all dead; *qui uiui qui mortui essent* is to be understood with *nondum palam facto*.

55.4–8 The structure of this piece of indirect speech (*oratio obliqua*) serves to emphasise the decisiveness of Fabius' proposal. All the subjunctives in the passage are in primary sequence; see 32.5–8n.

55.4 Appia et Latina uia ... dissipatos fore: cf. 12.2n. Fabius is saying that survivors would be found a long way from Cannae. The Appia ran through Venusia, close to Cannae, but the reference is to the part near Rome.

55.6 illud: for *illud* and *id* looking forward, followed by a subordinate clause, see K–St I 625.

55.6–8 ut ... sperare: *ut* is followed by ten present subjunctives, of which *tollant*, *arceant*, *coerceant*, *faciant*, *current* and *expectent* are all coordinated (linked to the preceding clause) and have *patres* as their subject; *contineri-que ... cogant* is not coordinated because it shares an object (*matronas*) with *arceant*; *suae ... expectent* is coordinated but the subject is now the individual citizens (*quisque*); the last clause of the period (*custodesque ... sperare*), not co-ordinated, is much longer than the others, with *qui prohibeant* and *cogantque* relative final clauses depending on *ponant*. L. is probably deliberately imitating the style of *senatus consulta*.

55.8 conticuerit: perfect subjunctive, representing the same form as future perfect indicative in *oratio recta*.

56.1 in hanc ... pedibus ... issent: *in sententiam pedibus ire* is the phrase for senators voting, since they did so by moving to the side of the senator who had proposed the motion for which they wished to vote; cf. Oakley 2005a: 120–1 (9.8.13n.). Its meaning, misunderstood by Panormita, was expounded by Valla (*Antidotum in Facium* 4.1.13–31; see Regoliosi 1981: 305–9). **summotaque foro** ‘and removed from the forum’.

56.2 ad decem milia: for *ad* cf. 31.5n. There were originally about 10,000 at Canusium (54.4), and Varro brought 4,500 from Canusium (54.1, 6): L. is thinking only of the first figure (Gronovius suggested reading <quattuor>*decim*).

incompositorum inordinatorumque ‘disorganised and not in formation’; the second epithet expands the first. They are also coupled at 50.8 and, in asyndeton, at 23.27.5; at 40.28.2 they are in close proximity and at 44.39.1 the first is replaced by *inconditam*.

56.3 It is unlikely that Varro had reliable information about Hannibal’s activities, and L. is probably anticipating 58.5. In any case, he was hardly in a position to mock Hannibal. The thought is L.’s, though put into the mouth of Varro. **nec uictoris ... ducis:** cf. 51.4, 58.1. **nundinantem** ‘conducting a market’; the only instance of *nundinari* in L. *nundinae* were Roman market days, held every nine days; cf. *FRHist* III 169.

56.4 tum priuatae ... uolgatae sunt: when the content of Varro’s letter became known, everyone assumed that their own relatives were among the dead, though in fact some had survived.

56.4–5 sacrum anniuersarium ... est finitus: at 34.6.15 L. makes the tribune L. Valerius mention this episode, in similar terms. Val. Max. 1.1.15 is derived from L. (see below). For the cult of Ceres, see *OCD*⁴, and for this episode, Spaeth 1996: 14 and 187 n. 71; also (for a detailed discussion of this festival of Ceres, to be distinguished from the *Cerealia*, celebrated on 19 April) Le Bonniec 1958: 400–23. It was a festival of Greek origin (Cic. *Balb.* 55, Paul. Fest. 86L, making the period of mourning 100 days), probably recently instituted. There is no entry for it in the *Fasti*, probably because, like the Latin festival, it belonged to the *feriae conceptiuae*, the date changing from year to year. Other references to the festival are Cic. *Leg.* 2.37, Ovid *Am.* 3.10, *Met.* 10.431–5, *ILLRP* 67 (cf. Le Bonniec 1958: 405). L. says that the limit of thirty days mourning was to prevent other

festivals being similarly affected, but Val. Max., doubtless misunderstanding him, thinks that it was to allow the festival of Ceres to resume (*intermittere* can mean ‘abandon’ as well as ‘interrupt’).

56.6 T. Otacilio: cf. 10.10, 37.13nn.

56.7 Hieronis: cf. 37.1n. †*uellent* ... *est*†: for full discussion see Briscoe 2018: 78–9. P’s text leaves *uellent* without a subject and *his* without reference, while the indicative cannot stand in *oratio obliqua*. L. may have written just *uellet nuntiatum*, with an ellipse of *esse*, *his est* being the remains of a gloss. **Aegates insulas:** cf. 54.11n.

56.8 se: Otacilius. **Lilybaeum:** cf. 31.5–6n.

57.1 litteris <...> M. Claudium: for full discussion see Briscoe 2018: 79. Both the main clause and the ablative absolute lack a verb, the former doubtless a part of *censere* (‘vote’), the latter a verb of reading (for suggestions see app.). The main clause also lacks a subject, but *patres* is easily understood (cf., e.g., 21.63.11). **praetorisque:** at 56.6 Otacilius is, correctly, called *propraetore*; *propraetors* are sometimes referred to as praetors (cf. Briscoe 2012a: 771), but the variation over so short a space is somewhat surprising, and the Aldine edition may have been right to print *propraetorisque* (a scribe’s eye could easily have moved from the first *pr* to the second). **M. Claudium:** Marcellus; cf. 35.6n. **classi ad Ostiam stanti:** presumably the fleet of Servilius, taken to Ostia by P. Cincius (31.6, where L. says he was to take it to Rome). **praetori:** Marcellus. **quantum ... posset:** without risking an encounter with Carthaginian forces.

57.2–3 *Punishment of Two Vestal Virgins and the Lover of One*

Vestal Virgins were forbidden to have sexual relations (see Introduction 8(b) p. 66) and doing so was a religious offence (*incestum*). Guilty virgins were buried alive, like Aida, their lovers flogged to death in public by the *pontifex maximus*. This barbaric practice is last attested in the Republic in 113, but was revived by Domitian. See further Oakley 1998: 576–9 (8.15.7–8n.). The episode was related by Cassius Hemina *FRHist* 6F33 *scriba pontificius, qui cum eabus stuprum fecerat*, which makes it clear that in Hemina Cantilius had sex with both Vestals (cf. *FRHist* III 176).

57.2 territi: here both *patres* (see 57.1n.) and *sunt* are to be understood. **cum ceteris prodigiis:** which L. does not list, partly, perhaps,

to enable him to concentrate on the Vestals, partly because he thought that the lists at 1.8–13 and 36.6–8 were enough for one book. **Opimia atque Floronia:** Opimii were consuls in 154 and 121 (for the latter see 33.7n.), but the Floronii are otherwise totally unknown. **portam Collinam:** the gate was at the NE corner of the Quirinal, a long way from the centre of the ancient city.

57.3 L. Cantilius: no other Cantilius is known. **scriba pontificius:** the adjective occurs also at Cato *FRHist* 5F105 (P has *pontificis*). **quos ... appellat:** the *pontifices minores* are first attested at Cic. *Har. resp.* 12, naming three; they may, however, have originated as attendants (*calatores*) of the *pontifices* rather than *scribae*, cf. Wissowa 1912: 447.

57.4 ut fit: L. frequently uses *ut fit* or *ut (ad)solet* as a means of generalising; cf. Oakley 1997: 663 (6.34.5n.); 2005a: 290 (9.22.7n.). For the Vestals' offence being treated as a prodigy, cf. Eckstein 1982: 74, 79, and, with some reservations, Oakley 1998: 578–9 (8.15.7–8n.).

57.5 et Q. Fabius Pictor: for Fabius see Introduction section 3 p. 10, and for a suggestion about the force of *et*, see section 8(c) p. 68. **Delphos:** by this time Rome had extensive contacts with the Greek world, both in southern Italy (*magna Graecia*) and Greece itself, and there is nothing surprising about the sending of an embassy to the leading Greek oracle. For alleged earlier Roman consultations of the oracle at Delphi, see 1.56 (Tarquin) with Ogilvie 1965: 216; and then during the war with Veii, 5.15.3, with Hoffmann 1934: 129–31, also discussing the gold krater in the Massaliote treasury there, cf. 5.25.10. See also Miano 2018: 25 n. 27. Given his knowledge of Greek and cultural interests, Pictor was a natural choice to lead the present embassy; cf. *FRHist* I 161.

The present story is resumed at 23.11.1–6 (Fabius Pictor's return with the oracle's reply); see Introduction pp. 19 and 69.

57.6 L. is appalled by the murder of four innocent men and women; for his *humanitas* cf. Briscoe 1973: 105 (31.17.11n.). The previous occasion to which L. refers (*iam ante*) was in 228 (Oros. 4.13.3, Zon. 8.19.9; cf. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 603–9; for the present episode see also Plut. *Marc.* 3.6–7; cf. *Mor.* 283F), again following the condemnation of a Vestal (cf. *Per.* 20); it is no coincidence that the Gauls and Greeks too were buried alive. In neither 228 nor 216 was Rome at war with Gauls or Greeks, though there were Gauls in Hannibal's army, and Latte (1960: 257, cf. MacBain 1982: 62–4; also Eckstein 1982: 81 and n. 55) suggested that the ritual

was Etruscan, the Etruscans being threatened by Gauls to the north and Greeks to the south. The victims were perhaps slaves of Gallic and Greek origin, but even so the Roman action assorts oddly with the mission of Fabius Pictor to Delphi. Eckstein 1982 explains these human sacrifices as expressions of fear of external threats: he concludes that they ‘buried their victims alive only because they feared that they, too, might some day become victims’ (82).

For *minime Romano sacro*, cf. 58.8 *minime Romani ingenii*, 1.53.4 *minime arte Romana*; and see Introduction p. 62. Fabre 1940 thought that *minime Romano sacro* referred not to the sacrifice as a whole but only to the shedding of blood; but *iam ante* appears to imply a wider condemnation by L.: see Levene 1993: 50 n. 38. **foro bouario**: see Oakley 2005b: 252 (10.23.3n.). **imbutum** ‘stained’. See Davies 2004: 68 n. 124, but it is unlikely in this context that, as he suggests, *imbutum* is metaphorical and means merely ‘inaugurated’: *OLD imbuo* 3.

57.7 placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis: L.’s bitter comment continues the tone of *minime Romano sacro*: the senate imagined that the gods would be pleased by human sacrifice. On this ‘damning ... aside’ see Davies 2004: 68, cf. 84.

57.7–8 M. Claudius ... contendit: Plut. *Marc.* 9.3, derived from L.

57.7 in classem scriptos: in addition to the *legio classica* (see below). **ut ... essent**: it is unclear whether the men who remained in Rome to guard the city after Trasimene (11.9) were still there. The two *legiones urbanae* recruited by the consuls of 216 (23.14.2) were to serve elsewhere.

57.8 legione classica: a legion serving as marines. The phrase is unique in Latin, though *milites classici* occurs at 21.61.2, 26.48.12, 51.6. The later history of this legion is uncertain: it could have been used for garrison duty in Apulia or at Tarentum (Brunt 1971: 649); but Toynbee (1965: 527–8) thought it was soon disbanded and the sailors sent back to their ships. **tertia**: that it was so numbered is not certain; see Brunt 1971: 648, cf. 647 n. 1: many references to numbered legions in L. are ‘no doubt sheer inventions’. But it could have replaced one of the Cannae legions which had that number. **Teenum Sidicinum**: mod. Teano (*Barr.* map 44F3), the meeting point of the *uia Appia* and the *uia Latina*; it is to be distinguished from Teanum Apulum (*Barr.* map 44F2). Cf. 42.11n. **P. Furio Philo**: cf. 35.3n. He sailed to Africa, where he was seriously wounded (23.21.2), but recovered and was elected censor in 214 (24.11.6).

57.9 inde dictator ... magister equitum: normally a consul nominates the dictator, who himself nominates his *magister equitum* (cf. 33.11n.); since, however, L. uses the passive of both dictator and *magister equitum*, it cannot be assumed that he meant that Varro made both nominations. **M. Iunius:** (126); Pera, consul in 230. **Ti. Sempronius:** (51); Gracchus, great uncle of the Gracchi. He was a curule aedile in office (23.24.3, 25.2, 30.16; for the meaning of 'curule' see 26.3n.) and was consul in both 215 and 213. **iuniores ... septemdecim:** 17 was the normal age for the commencement of military service (cf. *FRHist* III 470); it would have been clearer if L. had written *et* or *praeter* before *iuniores*. Val. Max. 7.6.1 takes this measure from L., together with the use of captured armour (10), and the enrolment of slaves (11–12) and convicted criminals (23.14.2–3). **praetextatos:** those under 17. The *toga praetexta*, with a purple stripe, was worn only by boys, curule magistrates (26.3n.) and members of the main priestly colleges. L., however, is using *praetextatus* loosely: boys normally assumed the *toga virilis* on reaching the age of puberty (cf. Briscoe 2008: 239, part of long note on the Bacchanalia episode at 39.8–19), and Iunius and Gracchus clearly enrolled only those a little under 17. **quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti:** the information in this chapter is not consistent with that at 23.14 (Pera had two *legiones urbanae*, some slaves, some cohorts from the *ager Picenus et Gallicus*, and 6,000 men released from prison, a total of 25,000 men). See Brunt 1971: 648–51. It seems that the present passage (Pera raised four legions in addition to the *uolones*, for whom see 57.11n.) is confused: Pera raised two new regular legions, and had four altogether, of which two were the *uolones*. For this solution see Brunt 1971: 651, followed by Lazenby 1978: 91.

57.10 item ... mittunt: the *formula* (fully *formula togatorum*) was a list of Latin and allied states, probably apportioning among them the relative number of troops they were to supply, the actual number varying according to circumstances. See Brunt 1971: 545–8. **arma tela, alia:** *arma tela* is a frequent *asyndeton bimembre* (cf. Briscoe 1981: 248 (36.18.1n.)), to which *alia* is added; hence the punctuation. **uetera spolia ... porticibusque:** cf. 23.14.4. For the dedication of enemy spoils in temples, cf. Oakley 1997: 422–3 (6.4.2–3n.) with 2005b: 513–14 (additional n. on the same passage).

57.11 In addition to Val. Max. 7.6.1 (cf. 57.9n. on *iuniores* ...), App. *Hann.* 27.116, Macr. 1.11.30, Eutr. 3.10.4 and Paul. Fest. 511L record the enrolment of slaves. They were called *uolones* (volunteers); in the following books L. uses the word, without explanation, seventeen times. **ex seruitiis:** = *seruos*.

57.12 The sentence serves as a transition to the matter which occupies most of the rest of book 22: the Romans preferred slaves to any other source of soldiers, though it would have cost less to ransom the prisoners held by Hannibal. **cum:** concessive; cf. K–St II 348–9. **redimendi ... fieret:** cf. 58.4n. At 59.12 L. makes the spokesman for the captives say that the cost of ransoming them would be no greater than that of purchasing the slaves. *cum pretio ... minore fieret* implies that if the senate ransomed the prisoners, it would not need to buy the slaves; but it was clearly too late to cancel the purchase, and at 61.2 L. says that part of the senate's motivation was the fact that they had already spent the money on purchasing the slaves.

58–61.10 Hannibal's Offer to Ransom the Roman Prisoners

Book 22 concludes (apart from 61.10–15, the defections from Rome and the expression of thanks to Varro) with a set-piece debate in the senate between the spokesman for the prisoners and T. Manlius Torquatus (59–60), framed by Hannibal's offer and the despatch of the prisoners' representatives (58) and the senate's decision together with a variant version of the episode (61.1–10). Moreover, the debate balances the only other long speech in the book, Fabius' address to Paullus in 39.

The episode was related by both Pol. 6.58 and his contemporary C. Acilius (*FRHist* 7F2, from Cic. *Off.* 3.115); at 3.113 Cicero reports the version of Polybius, who, like L. (58.8), says that only one of the ten representatives claimed that by returning briefly to the camp to collect something he had forgotten, he had fulfilled his oath to return: Acilius said that a number did so; in the alternative version which L. gives at 61.5–10, all ten said that they had returned to check the names of the captives. It is likely that both Cicero and L. were using Claudius Quadrigarius, who cited the conflicting accounts of Polybius and Acilius (the difference between *decem* at 61.7 and *plures* in Cicero is not significant). For full discussion and references to other sources, see *FRHist* III 185–7.

58.1 uictoris ... curis: taking up both Maharbal at 51.4 *uincere scis, Hannibal, uictoria uti nescis* and Varro at 56.3 *nec uictoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem*.

58.2 Trebiam Trasummenumque: for Trasimene see 7.5 n; L. said nothing similar about Hannibal's actions after Trebia (cf. 21.56). **sine pretio dimisisset:** before the surrender of those in the camps Hannibal had stipulated a sum of 200 *quadrigati* for each allied soldier (52.2); if both passages represent the facts, Hannibal had decided that releasing the

allies without ransom would persuade their communities to defect from Rome.

58.3 A fair statement of Hannibal's war aims. **internecium:** L. uses *internecio* ('extermination') on seven occasions (it is found in Accius and Lucilius, in prose from Cicero onwards), but the adjective occurs elsewhere in Classical Latin only at 9.25.9 and Cic. *Dom.* 61. **de dignitate atque imperio:** to force Rome to treat Carthage as an equal and to define the areas each controlled. At 28.19.7 L. makes Scipio tell his troops that they are fighting Carthage *sine ira de imperio et gloria*. **et patres ... cedatur:** Rome had shown superior qualities in the First Punic War; his aim was to reverse the situation. **felicitati** 'good fortune' (Foster); cf. 18.9n.

58.4 redimendi ... facere: repeating the language of 57.12. **equiti quingenos:** an increase from the terms specified at 52.2, where the same sum applied to both cavalry and infantry (Pol. 6.58.5 (cf. 52.2n.) makes no distinction). Perhaps Hannibal realised he had not taken account of the status of Roman cavalry (cf. 42.61.5).

58.5 aliquantum 'a certain amount'. **laeti:** the *equites*. They were ready to pay the sum demanded from their own resources if the senate was unwilling to use public funds (cf. 60.3–4).

58.7 Carthalo: cf. 51.2n. **inclinarent animos:** this is the simplest alteration to P's *inclinaret animos: Romani* is easily understood. See app.

58.8 unus ex iis: this is surely the same man as at 61.4 (again with *unus ex iis*), see n. there. On the general question of attitudes to such 'clever' or legalistic interpretations of oaths, see again 61.4n. (also 61.8n.). **minime Romani ingenii homo:** cf. 57.6n. on *minime Romano sacro*. **adsequitur** 'caught up'.

58.9 dictatoris uerbis 'in the name of the dictator'. For similar orders (by the senate), cf. 30.23.5–8, 37.1.6, 49.7.

59 The Speech of the Representative of the Captives

The speech consists of: 1–2 *proemium* (preface), 3–15 *tractatio* (detailed argument), 16–19 *conclusio* (conclusion), consisting of a *commiseratio* (appeal to pity). The *tractatio* falls into four sections: (a) we did our duty both during the battle and when the camp was besieged by the Carthaginians: by surrendering we ensured the survival of some Roman

soldiers; (b) a ransom was paid to both the Gauls after the Allia and Pyrrhus after Heraclea (cf. 59.7–8 nn.), when flight avoided the slaughter of Cannae; and some of the captives had been left to guard the camp during the battle; (c) those who escaped from Cannae to Canusium and Venusia are still available for service and we can be ransomed for no more than the cost of recruiting 8,000 slaves; (d) if we are not ransomed, we will be at the mercy of Hannibal's cruelty.

Thus Ullmann (1927: 97–8), but his labelling of the sub-divisions of the *tractatio* (detailed argument) as *dignum*, *rectum* and *pium* (he says that they are all sub-divisions of *honestum*) is artificial; cf. 38.13–39.22n.

59.1 senatus ... datus est: L.'s standard phrase for a magistrate granting an audience of the senate; cf., e.g., 26.21.2, 34.43.2. **dictatore ... M. Iuni u<o>sque:** P has *Iuniusque*, and a corrector deleted *-que*, so that M. Iunius is the name of the speaker, and this remained the accepted reading until the truth was realised by Harant (it would have been an extraordinary coincidence if the dictator and the speaker had the same name; the normal position of *patres conscripti* is thus restored, though it stands at the beginning of a sentence at 5.27.12 and 8.13.11). For the conjunction of *uosque*, *patres conscripti* with another vocative, cf. 6.15.9, 8.5.3, 6.6. **patres conscripti:** the phrase is an *asyndeton bimembre*: the senate, from early times, consisted of both patricians (*patres*) and plebeians enrolled in the senate (*conscripti*); see Cornell 1995: 247. **nulli ... nostrae:** cf. 61.1. Despite the claim, the speaker proceeds in 59.7 and 18 to talk of two occasions when the senate agreed to ransom Roman prisoners; perhaps L., whose sympathies were with Manlius, has deliberately made the speaker weaken his argument that the Cannae captives were a special case.

59.3–6 The speaker's claims are contradicted by the narrative in ch. 50; see Oakley 2019: 174–5.

59.3 cumulis caesorum corporum: probably deliberate alliteration.

59.5 ulla ... spes esset: contradicting 50.9, where Sempronius Tuditanus says *ferro atque audacia uia fit quamuis per confertos hostes*.

59.7 maiores ... redemisse: in 390 (Varr.), to end the Gallic occupation of Rome (5.48.8–9). **patres ... misisse:** in 280, following the battle of Heraclea (see 59.8n.), the senate, at the urging of Ap. Claudius Caecus, rejected the peace terms offered by Pyrrhus (for the many sources see Powell 1988: 136; on Pyrrhus cf. again 59.8n.), but sent an embassy of

three consulars, led by C. Fabricius Luscinus (consul in 282 and 278) to negotiate the ransom of the Roman prisoners (for the sources see *MRR* I 192). **Tarentum:** Tarentum, Greek Taras (*Barr.* map 45 F4), was a Spartan colony founded in the eighth century. In the early Hellenistic period it was under constant pressure from its non-Greek neighbours, several times seeking help against them from Sparta. This is the first mention of Tarentum in the third decade. It had been attacked by L. Aemilius Barbula in 281 and called on Pyrrhus for assistance (cf. *MRR* I 190). Cf. Oakley 1998: 680–2 (8.25.7n.), *OCD*¹, and see further 61.12n.

59.8 et ... Gallis: cf. 50.1, 2–3n. **ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho:** for the sources on the battle of Heraclea (280), see *MRR* I 191; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 16–17 is the only full account. Heraclea (*Barr.* map 45 E4) was c.60 km. SW of Tarentum, its mother city. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, invaded Italy in 280, in response to an appeal from Tarentum for help against Rome. He was eventually defeated at Beneventum in 275 and returned to Greece; he died at Argos in 272, struck on the head by a tile (cf. 29.18.6). See *OCD*¹. **utraque ... fuit:** in Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 17.6) it was only the horses, confronted by Pyrrhus' elephants, that panicked and took flight. **nec ... defecerunt:** a combination of expressions: L. could have said either *nec supersumus nisi quod in trucidando et ferrum ...* or *nec supersunt nisi in quibus*

59.9 Pol. 6.58.6, clearly mistakenly, says that all the captives were those who had been left to guard the camp (singular). L. has not previously mentioned them; the inconsistency is perhaps deliberate, implying that the speaker was not being truthful, though it is unlikely that the consuls would have made no provision for guarding the camp.

59.10–11. The speaker turns, abruptly, to those who had escaped to Venusia or Canusium, claiming that just as he does not begrudge them their safety, so they could not justifiably claim superiority or boast that they were of more value to the state.

59.10 commilitonis 'comrade'. *commilito* was first used by Varro and Caesar and occurs twelve times in L. Suetonius (*Iul.* 67.2) says that Caesar used to address his troops as *commilitones* rather than *milites*. Cf. Oakley 1997: 520 (6.14.4n.), *TLL* III 1582–5. **premendo alium me extulisse** 'exalt myself by pushing some one else down', as with scales or a seesaw. **ne ... quidem** 'not either', not 'not even'. **nisi ... constiterunt:** a double-edged sentiment: the clear implication is that the captives deserved greater esteem than those who had escaped. Abandoning one's arms and fleeing was regarded as a disgrace; cf. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978: 113. **praetulerint gloriatique sint:** potential perfect subjunctives; cf. 36.1n.

59.11 sed illis et ... et: *illis* stands before both elements but belongs only to the former; for this illogicality of word order, cf. Briscoe 2008: 8 (for conjectures removing it see app.). **promptioribus pro patria:** perhaps deliberate alliteration.

59.12 For the slaves purchased from their owners in order to serve in the army, see 57.11. **nec maiore pretio:** at 57.12 L. said that the cost of ransoming the captives was less than that of purchasing the slaves. *nec maiore* does not exclude that, and L. may have been attracted by *non minor ... nec maiore*. **nam ... faciam:** it would be an insult to Roman citizens to compare them with slaves. Most Romans, no doubt, while accepting the necessity of recruiting slaves, would have agreed that they could not be the equal of citizen soldiers: in 214, promised their freedom, most of them belied that belief (see 24.14–16).

59.13–15 If you do not agree to ransoming the captives, Hannibal will treat them with his customary cruelty. The argument provides a natural transition to the appeal to pity which constitutes the *conclusio*.

59.14 Pyrrho ... habuit: this is the only evidence for Pyrrhus' treatment of the Roman prisoners (cf. Lévêque 1957: 330 n. 3, calling it 'la tradition romaine'). **qui utrum auarior an crudelior sit uix existimari potest?** cf. 50.6n. This idiom, in which hesitation between two alternatives is expressed by means of comparative adjectives or adverbs, is discussed by Whitton 2011, calling it *dubitatio comparatiua* ('comparative doubt'); L. uses it mainly in speeches; cf. Briscoe 2012a: 58 (41.7.9n.) and 192 (42.12.7n.).

59.15 catenas, squalorem, deformitatem ciuium uestrorum: *ciuium uestrorum* goes only with *deformitatem* ('degradation' (Foster)). *squalor* occurs six times in L., four of them in the third decade, *deformitas* seven times, three of them in the third decade; the latter is a prose word (it is intractable in dactyls), found first in Cicero but avoided by Caesar and Sallust.

59.16. L. enables the reader to visualise the scene: the doors of the senate house, as was normal, remained open and the senators could see those assembled in the vestibule (though, as is shown by the rule of senatorial secrecy; cf. Briscoe 2012a: 198 (42.14.1n.)), those outside could not hear what was being said. **stantium ... uestrum:** four genitive plurals followed by two accusative singulars produce, to ignore the *-que*, a sequence of six words ending in *-um*. For L.'s tolerance of *homoioteleuton* of this kind, cf. Briscoe 1981: 43 (34.1.1n.). **suspensi ac solliciti:** deliberate alliteration; at 27.50.6 L. writes *sollicitae ac suspensae ciuitati* (the two adjectives are of the same metrical length). **ipsorum:** the captives in Hannibal's possession.

59.17 mediusfidius: this elliptical phrase ('I call heaven to witness' 'so help me God' (*OLD Fidius*)) is a combination of *me*, *dius*, and *Fidius*, and some editors print it as three words. *dius* means 'of the sky' and hence both 'bright' and 'divine'; cf. Skutsch 1985: 210–11, 258. *Fidius* probably originated as a cult title of Jupiter but became the name of a god, the guardian of *fides*, in his own right; cf. Dyck 2010: 159. **ipsi ... simus:** if we are not ransomed and Hannibal decides to spare our lives, we would not think it worth living. L. does not report the fate of the captives at this point, but at 34.50.3–7 (= Pol. 19.2), he says that they had been sold into slavery in Greece and that in 194 the Achaean League spent 100 talents on redeeming those in Achaia from their owners. It is most unlikely that Hannibal ever contemplated putting them to death, thus depriving himself of their value. See further 61.2n.

59.18 rediere ... missis: thus also *Per.* 13, Dio fr. 40.32. Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 20.10–11), in an apparent conflation with the present episode, says that Pyrrhus released the captives on condition that if his peace terms were rejected, they would be returned to him; the senate, having rejected the peace, voted to return the captives and to impose the death penalty on any who remained in Rome. **rediere ... redeam ego:** adversative polyptoton (1.3n.) with the verbs standing in first position in their sentences. L. uses the first person pronoun but does not emphasise it. **trecen-tis nummis:** cf. 58.4; the implication is that the speaker is not an *eques*: Pol. 6.58.3 says that the ambassadors were the most distinguished (τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους) of the captives.

59.19 suum quisque animum 'everyone has their own opinion'; sc. *habet* (*uel sim.*). For similar ellipses cf. Atilius ap. Cic. *Att.* 14.20 (SB 374).3 *suam quoique sponsam, mihi meam; suam quoique amorem, mihi meum*; see app. **famae ... abeamus:** *periculum* is to be taken with both *famae* (dative of disadvantage) and *ne abeamus*; for *periculum ne* + subjunctive, cf. K–St II 253. **neque ... credent:** everyone will refuse to believe that the senate rejected the ransom demand for financial reasons and will regard the decision as a rebuff and condemnation.

60.1–4 Reactions to the Speech of the Captives' Representative

60.1 manusque ad curiam tendebant: cf. Oakley 1997: 562 (6.20.10n.) and 1998: 304–5 (7.31.5n.); and for stretching out the hands as a universal gesture of supplication, see Naiden 2006: 51–6. **liberos fratres cognatos:** for *liberi* and *fratres* together in a longer asyndetic group, cf. (with Adams forthcoming) 34.3.7 *parentes uiri liberi fratres earum*.

60.2 feminas quoque: see Introduction p. 73. **senatus summotis arbitris consuli coeptus** ‘after onlookers had been removed, the senatorial debate began’, lit. ‘the senate began to be consulted’. See *OLD arbiter* 1. Cf. Oakley 1998: 93 (7.5.4n.), who, however, cites only instances with *remotis*; this is the only example of *summotis arbitris*, though *summouere* is regularly used to mean ‘remove by order of a magistrate’; see Packard (under both *summ-* and *subm-*).

60.3 cum sententiis uariaretur ‘there were different opinions’; the verb is used impersonally. When the subject of *uariare* is the people whose views vary, L., naturally, uses the active (cf. 36.1), here, where it is the views themselves, the passive.

Thucydides sometimes introduces an Athenian Assembly debate in this way (‘various opinions were expressed ...’), but then he usually reports – or rather invents – a speech or speeches representative of one at least of the opinions he has just summarised (1.139.4, 3.36.6). But Manlius is about to reject both of the milder alternatives.

60.4 dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam ‘the treasury should lend them the money’. The *aerarium Saturni* (which took its name from its home in the sanctuary of Saturn under the Capitol) was the state treasury; see Ogilvie 1965: 521 (3.69.8n.), and *OCD* ‘*aerarium*’. **praedibusque ac praediis** ‘guarantors, and property offered by them as security’. For the whole expression see *OLD praes* b. **cauendum populo** ‘the interests of the people should be protected’. On the financial implications of this passage, see Nicolet 1963: 420 and n. 3.

60.5–27 Speech of Manlius Torquatus

T. Manlius (82) Torquatus was now elderly (cos. 235, censor 231; and see 60.11n. on *auorum* ...). He belonged to a family notorious for its repellent severity, and he maintains the tradition (60.5). In 340, T. Manlius (57) Imperiosus Torquatus had executed his own brave son for military disobedience: 8.7, esp. 22 for the (proverbial) *Manliana imperia horrenda*. See Oakley 1998: 436–51; 451 (8.7.1–22n.) on *Manliana imperia*. The Manlius who is now given a speech is the first prominent member of the family since the fourth century, and he ‘satisfyingly embodies all the familial characteristics of harshness and toughness’: so Feeney 2010: 206; see also 212, suggesting that both here and at 26.22.2–9, when in 211 BC Manlius will brusquely insist that the first and therefore influential voting bloc of the *iuniores* (the *centuria praerogatiua*) should withdraw its vote for him as consul, he is acting as a kind of ‘super-father to the youth of

Rome'; he tells them on that occasion (9) that he would not be able to bear their behaviour nor they his *imperium*. On the present occasion he is, on this interpretation, punishing his 'sons' for not living up to Roman traditions. See also Pelling 1989: 204–5.

For a brief analysis of the simple structure of the speech, see Ullmann 1927: 98–9 (6–7 *prooemium*, 8–24 *tractatio*, 25–7 *conclusio*); also Oakley 2019: 175–7. Manlius' main argument, insistently made with repetitions and variations, is 'these cowards don't deserve to be ransomed because they had the chance to break out, *erumpere*, under Sempronius' leadership but failed to take it'. (Forms of *erumpere* occur no fewer than ten times in the speech; the other leitmotif is *ignavia*, 'cowardice', see 60.8n. for the four occurrences; cf. also 60.17n. on *obsistere*.) This may, in fact, have been all that the historical Manlius really said, before L. got to work on the persuasive rhetoric. As in the speech to which it is a reply (Oakley 2019: 175–6), there are exaggerations and distortions. In particular, Manlius goes well beyond the facts as more briefly narrated in 50 (cf. Chaplin 2010: 59–60, noting that the speech material about Sempronius is longer and more elaborate than the earlier narrative version), in particular by claiming not only that most of the men who heard Sempronius' appeal had failed to follow him, but that some actually resisted him bodily. See also 60.10, 11 and 14nn. Polybius in his digression at 6.58 (see 58–61.10n.) knows that there was a discussion in the senate, but shows no awareness either that Manlius spoke, or of the particular arguments L. gives him.

The variations in apostrophe (i.e. changes in who is being addressed) are carefully managed. Manlius alternates between apostrophising the senators (as by implication at 60.6 and explicitly at 60.7, 8, 20 and 27), and the prisoners in the persons of their spokesman (as for the first time at 60.12, and then at 14–16 and 26). For the very effective switch of addressee at 60.17, see n. there. This means that *uobis* at 60.8 refers to the senators but at e.g. 60.12 to the prisoners asking for ransom; similarly, *uobis* at 60.25 refers to the senators but *uos* three lines later (60.26) to the prisoners. In an actual speech of this sort, there would be less unclarity: much could be done by body language, the speaker turning from one side of the *curia* to the other, and no doubt making eye-contact with a key individual. To be sure, such changes of addressee in speeches are not uncommon in L.; cf., e.g., 38.46.1–2, where the speaker, who has been addressing Manlius Vulso, the consul of 189, switches to addressing the senate.

Given Manlius' formidable character, it is natural to look for attempts at characterisation. The nagging repetitiousness mentioned above suits the uncompromising, bitter old man, as do the sarcastic conjectures at 60.22–4 (see nn. there), and the questions posed insistently throughout

the speech. The only variety is briefly provided by the two linked ancient *exempla* at 60.11, the second of which purports to be a personal reminiscence. (Chaplin 2000: 59–62 treats the material about Sempronius Tuditanus as the speech's only *exemplum*; see above.) The Latin is not complex, or the meaning obscure or convoluted, except for the rather strained thought at 60.21, where a textual problem compounds the felt difficulty.

60.5 *priscae ... seueritatis*: see introductory n. *uir* is to be understood. ***ut plerisque uidebatur*** 'it seemed to most people', rather than 'it might seem', *uideatur* (the reading of P); on the text see Oakley 2019: n. 47. That is, L. does not necessarily disapprove of Manlius' hard line, but neither does he endorse it.

60.6–7 *si tantummodo ... nunc autem ...*: for this type of rhetorical opening (a hypothetical conditional clause followed by *nunc*, 'if ... but as it is'), see 39.1–2n.

60.6 *legati*: there had been only one speaker (59.1), but Manlius treats him as representative of the ten envoys mentioned at 58.6; hence the plural.

60.7 *non captis modo ...*: tendentious: 59 has no mention at all of those captured in the battle. At 59.10 the speaker says that he does not begrudge those who escaped to Venusia or Canusium and that they would not put themselves above the captives and boast that they were of more value to the state. ***nihil ... patiar***: for L.'s fondness for *patiar* preceded by a negative, see Oakley 1997: 523 (6.14.10n.) and 2005a: 449 (9.34.25n.).

60.8–26 See 50.6–12 for the Sempronius episode, so important for Manlius' argument, and here used as an extended *exemplum* (see introductory n.).

60.8 *apud uos*: the senators. Manlius does not begin to address the prisoners and their spokesman until *uos ducerem* at 60.12, so that *uos* changes its referent between here and there; see introductory n. ***ignauiae cuiusque et uirtutis***: by the time Manlius reaches 60.15, 17 and 21, only cowardice, *ignauia*, will remain out of this pair of opposites, always as a characterisation of those who surrendered; *uirtus* is reserved for those who did break out (60.21, and the final sentence, 60.27). **P. Sempronius**: see 60.10n. for the delay of the *cognomen* until there.

60.9 cum fessis pugnando hostibus: see 47.10n.

60.10 nocte prope tota: this was not in 50, and is one of Manlius' exaggerations. **P. Sempronius Tuditanus:** see 50.6n. He is named five times in the speech, but Manlius gives him his *cognomen* (for which see already the narrative at 50.6) at this, his second mention, rather than at his first at 60.8. That was fleeting ('I wish Sempronius could be here as witness! because if these men had followed his lead, they would not now be prisoners'); but now Manlius develops this point with an ampler and more detailed narrative of his praiseworthy action, in which the *cognomen* has an emphatic introductory function. See W–M. Compare, in Greek, the addition of a patronymic at an important moment, even when the character has already been introduced without one (as at Th. 2.19.1, 'Archidamos son of Zeuxidamos', although he has featured prominently in book 1 with name only). **monere adhortari:** on the asyndeton cf. below on *in tuta ... dum ... dum ... dum ...*: an emphatic anaphoric tricolon. **in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes:** the asyndeton marks the heightened rhetorical style. Cf. 60.20n.

60.11 si ut ... in Samnio: *dixit* is postponed until further down (the second conditional clause), where it introduces Flamma's exhortation. What Decius actually said to his men was positive: 'save yourselves by breaking out from here', *erumpendo hinc uosmet ipsos seruate* (7.35.4), which is what then happened, and which was much closer to what Sempronius said to his men after Cannae (esp. 50.8, *erumpamus*) than to what Flamma more drastically and negatively said, as quoted below by Manlius, namely 'let us die, soldiers', *moriatur milites* See next n. **auorum memoria** 'as our grandfathers remembered'. Manlius' grandfather cannot have been alive in 216, but if Manlius was born c.275, his grandfather could have been born c.335 and have remembered being told about Decius by someone who did remember the episode; that might loosely be described as remembering. But the speech contains many exaggerations, and this looks like one of them. **P. Decius tribunus militum:** in 343 BC, Decius (15) Mus saved the consul Cornelius Cossus from a Samnite trap, after which he himself survived and received extravagant rewards: 7.34–37.3 and other refs. at *MRR* I 133. For the connection between this and the next *exemplum*, see below, n. on *trecentis uoluntariis*. **nobis adolescentibus:** see above on *auorum* ... **priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma:** Calpurnius (42) was another military tribune. In 258, during the First Punic War, he saved the consul Atilius Caiatinus' army near Camarina in Sicily, by drawing the Carthaginian attack on himself and his men: *Per.* 17 and other refs. at *MRR* I 207. Of these refs., the most important is a

long fragment of Cato, who insists that the tribune was initially thought to have died along with his men, but then his body was found and he miraculously recovered (*FRHist* 5F76, from Aulus Gellius, with Cornell, *FRHist* III 121–4 and Rood 2017; see below). Gellius calls him Caedicius, but the name is not in the verbatim citation by Gellius, who says that Claudius Quadrigarius called him Laberius: *FRHist* 24 F42. Frontinus 1.5.15 notes these two discrepant versions of the man's name but says that most sources called him Calpurnius Flamma, as here. In both these *exempla*, a military tribune saves the army of a consul. There is no question of anyone saving the consul Varro on the present occasion, so the point of the comparisons lies elsewhere. Only in the second *exemplum* does the hero come near to sacrificing his own life (cf. Rood 2017: 10), although Decius went on to do so three years later. So L. (who makes Manlius mention Decius only very briefly) is perhaps trading on the association of the Decii with the ritual act of self-sacrifice known as *deuotio*, so as to make the rhetorical point: 'look what extreme sacrifices those military tribunes of old were themselves making and asking their troops to make, but you by contrast failed to respond to a military tribune who was offering you safety rather than glory'. For what Decius actually proposed, see above on *si ul ... trecentis uoluntariis*: so also Florus 1.18.12–14 (*lecta trecentorum manu*, probably derived from L.) and other sources. But Cato (above) said 400, which is thought likelier because 300 'serves to assimilate the event more closely to Thermopylae' (Cornell, *FRHist* III 121, cf. De Bakker and van der Keur 2019: 327–8 and n. 23; for the Thermopylae comparison see Florus, as above). Other features of the Flamma/Caedicius story have aroused modern suspicion, notably the similarity with that of, precisely, Decius Mus. In particular, both those tribunes received the same rare decoration of a 'grass crown' (awarded for bravery in sieges), and this might indicate a doublet; so Cornell, as above. Rood 2017 (cf. above, Introduction section 8 p. 53 n. 132) suggests that behind both Cato on Caedicius in the First Punic War and L. on Decius Mus in the First Samnite War lies Xen. *Anab.* 3.4.38–45 (Xenophon volunteers to seize high ground held by the enemy and does so successfully with picked troops), and further that Torquatus' juxtaposition of the two *exempla* shows not only that L.'s account was modelled on Cato's (see Oakley 1998: 333(7.34.1–37.3n.)), but that L. was 'reshaping the Decius story through his own reading of the episode in the *Anabasis* passage' (2017: 8–9 and 13).

60.12 *nec uiros quidem nec Romanos uos duceret* 'he would have thought you not even men, and certainly not Romans'. P has *duceret*; the conjecture *ducerem* would mean 'I would have thought you ...', and Koch also

changed *quidem* to *equidem* ('I for my part'). For the language here, see 14.11n. on *uir ac uere Romanus*.

For the first time (see introductory n.), Manlius directly addresses not the senators but more vividly the prisoners; contrast *uos* at 60.8. The transition is facilitated by the imaginary transfer to Sempronius of Flamma's speech of exhortation.

60.13 ad parentes, ad coniuges ac liberos: an asyndeton *bimembre*, *coniuges ac liberos* forming one member. **ut seruemini, deest uobis animus** 'you lack the courage to be saved'. See *OLD* *ut* 28.

60.14 si moriendum pro patria esset: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.13, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, with Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 26–8. **exempla ... non mouent ... mouebit:** cf. 34.22.13, also Just. 38.4.5, Quint. *Inst.* 9.1.31, Front. 2.7.7.

60.15 deminuti capite: in Roman law, *deminutio capitis* could mean the loss of freedom, citizenship and family: Paul. *Digest* 4.5.11; Fest. 61L lists situations entailing loss of *caput*, among them entering into the power of the enemy: *deminutus capite appellatur ... qui in hostium potestatem venit*. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.42, *capitis minor* (Regulus in the First Punic War), with Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 93, citing the present passage of L. **serui Carthaginiensium facti:** another exaggeration. The prisoners were not yet slaves: they were too valuable to Hannibal as potential financial assets. But they were enslaved eventually: 59.17n. and 61.2n.

60.16 arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; ... castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem: the four infinitive expressions are arranged symmetrically (a verb with *arma* begins and ends the sequence); but the first pair is active in sense, as suits energy and initiative, the second pair is passive, as suits willing, abject prisoners. The change is deliberate: L. could have written *prodere* and *tradere*. The repetition of *iubentem* draws the parallel and contrast. Like Greek κεύω, *iubeo* can mean either to order people or (as here) to urge or bid them.

60.17 ignauiam istorum accuso: after a long series of indignant remarks and questions directed at the first set of speakers, Manlius turns to address the senators, and refers to the speakers with the contemptuous *istorum* (*OLD* *iste* 3). See also 60.27n. on *istos*. For the *ignauia* theme, see 60.8 and introductory n. **sed ... summouissent:** there is an understood apodosis 'and they would have succeeded'. Cf. 40.9n. **obsistere ac retinere conati sunt:** repeated at 60.21, but untrue; see next n. **strictis gladiis:**

cf. the narrative at 50.10 about Sempronius, *stringit gladium*, although the echo is tendentious because that passage neither said nor implied that there was resistance to him. **fuit erumpendum** ‘he had to break through.’

60.19 sescenti: cf. 50.11.

60.20 fortia fidelia: for the asyndeton cf. 60.10n. on *in tuta* **ne ipsi quidem dixerint**: cf. Sen. *Suas.* 7.14, Cic. *Flacc.* 75, *Lucull.* 145.

60.21 nisi quis credere potest †fuisse ut† erumpentibus: the transmitted reading is clearly corrupt. The commonly favoured emendation *adfuisse* (or variants) would mean ‘unless anyone can believe that they helped those who were breaking out’. For the textual problem, see Briscoe 2018: 79–80. **obsistere conati sunt**: see 60.17n. **uirtutem ... ignauiamque**: for the opposition between these two words, see 60.8n.

60.22 <at> ... animus: for the text see app. What follows to the end of 60.23 is a series of sarcastically offered pseudo-conjectures by an imaginary merciful interlocutor (the rhetorical term for such imaginary objections is *occupatio*). Manlius is saying, in effect, ‘perhaps it will be objected (for this sense of *at* or sometimes *at enim* see *OLD* 3) that they held out for several days and nights, finally surrendering only in extremity’. All this will be roundly controverted at the beginning of 60.24: ‘not at all! They surrendered early on the very first day.’

60.23 adfectisque fame uiribus: Manlius here turns the Gallic *exemplum* of the preceding speech (59.7) against the speaker, by recalling implicitly the starvation endured by the Romans on the Capitol at that time: 5.48.5–7; see Jaeger 1997: 105.

60.24 orto sole ... ante secundam horam: see 60.22n. This allegation of a surrender early in the day is again tendentious (cf. 60.17n.): L. had said at 52.1–2 that it occurred only after Hannibal had spent much of the same day collecting booty. See Oakley 2019: 176.

60.25 uobis: addressing the senators; contrast *uos* just below (60.26).

60.26 et uos redimam? ‘should I ransom you?’ This balances *redeam ego* ... ? at 59.18 (otherwise one might take *redimam* as future indicative, not present subjunctive). See further below. For the last time, Manlius addresses the prisoners through their spokesman, before directing his concluding recommendation at the senators in 60.27. The emendation *redimamus*,

‘should we ...?’, is more financially accurate (and would arguably give extra point to *ego* at 60.27 (‘should we ransom them ...? ... Well, I for my part would no more vote to ransom them ...’)). But the plural is less lively than *redimam*, which carries the startling implication that Manlius alone might have had the resources to ransom everybody. And Manlius’ adoption of the first person singular near the end of his speech (as an imagined representative of the whole senate, not as an orator summing up, as in 60.27) sneeringly matches the occasional and pathetic use of the same ploy in the mouth of the prisoners’ spokesman: the latter did this most conspicuously (but not only) at the end of *his* speech; see esp. *redeam ego ...?* at 59.18 (see above). **uos ipsos traditis hosti**: the second half of a hexameter; perhaps accidental.

60.27 ego: very emphatic at the start of the sentence; and see 60.26n. **istos**: see 60.17n.; contrast *illos* below, where the reference is favourable. **per summam uirtutem**: see 60.8n.

61.1–4 *Decision Not to Ransom the Prisoners*

61.1 cognatione attingebant ‘were related to’. *cognitione attingere* is a legal phrase, found in Republican Latin at *RS* 1 lines 10, 20, 25 xcv lines 18–19, 47 fol. 298, Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.27, 5.83; cf. *TLL* II 1146.27–31. **praeter exemplum ... mouit**: L. takes up 60.1 *nemo nostrum ... nostrae* and 19 *ne a uobis ... homines credent*, at the beginning and end of the speech of the spokesman for the captives. *praeter exemplum ... indulgentis* merely repeats the idea, but whereas the spokesman claims that nobody will believe that the senate’s decision was made for financial reasons, L.’s authorial voice says that they were part of its motivation. **iam inde antiquitus** ‘from of old’ (Foster); for the phrase see Oakley 2005a: 380 (9.28.8n.). **pecuniae quoque summa homines mouit**: the war was straining Rome’s economic as well as its human resources, and proud but polite refusals of money from well-wishing allies are not evidence to the contrary (32.9n.). For the financial measures described by L. in the following books, see Nicolet 1963 and 1976: 69–79. These included a doubling of the direct tax on citizens (see *OCD*¹ ‘*tributum*’): 23.31.1.

61.2 quia nec aerarium exauriri: see 60.4n. **magna iam ... armandosque**: cf. 57.12n. **nec Hannibalem ... uolebant**: for the eventual enslavement of these prisoners, see 59.17n., citing L. 34.50.3–7 (= Pol. 19.2). ‘There might have been some point in this argument if Rome had been the only market for Hannibal’s captives’ (Dimsdale). But it would

have taken some time to realise the proceeds, while a ransom payment would have been available immediately.

61.3 triste responsum: ‘the grim reply’; for the phrase, used by L. on seven occasions, cf. Oakley 1997: 542 (6.17.7n.). **non redimi captiuos:** ‘that the captives were not being ransomed’; the acc. + inf. depends on *responsum*. **nouusque ... iactura ciuium:** i.e. the loss (*OLD iactura* 5) by captivity, on top of the (much larger) loss by death at Cannae. **cum magnis fletibus questibus:** for the asyndeton (not to be emended away; see app.) in a description of lamentations, cf. Cic. *Att.* 5.16(SB 109).2 *gemitus ploratus*, [Sall.] *Rep.* 2.4.2 *luctus gemitus* (both, as here, with assonance). Here, as at Cic. *Att.* 4.15(SB 90).7 *fremit queritur*, the first term can be seen as a modifier of the second (‘tearful complaints’). The effect is to heighten the style.

For descriptions of collective weeping and tears as characteristic of the more rhetorical sort of classical and Hellenistic historiography, especially at crisis moments like the fall of cities, see Lateiner 2009 (the tears at the unusually emotional Th. 7.75.4 are unique in his *History*). For *fletus* in L., see e.g. 6.3.4 and 25.37.10, both about women collectively; contrast 40.12.2 (Demetrius the son of Philip V). See also 49.8n. (on *lacrimae*).

61.4 unus ex iis: see introductory n. to 58–61.10. L. does not say so explicitly, but this is surely a recapitulatory reference to the same man as was mentioned at 58.8; the exact repetition of *unus ex iis* serves as a reminder to reader or hearer. In itself, *unus ex iis* is an unremarkable phrase, but it occurs elsewhere in L. only at 23.6.1 – such clustering is frequent in L., as in many authors – and 5.41.9. For such similarity of phrasing as a substitute for a cross-reference, see e.g. Hdt. 1.93.1 with 5.101.2, with Hornblower 2013: 284 (cf. 4–15). As in that example from Hdt., and as in the present passage of L., the second occurrence is often fuller than the first, by what in Homeric scholarship is called the ‘technique of increasing precision’. **fallaci reditu:** for this sort of pseudo-fulfilment of an oath, see Parker 1983: 155 n. 55; Latte, *RE* XV (1931) ‘Meineid’: 348, citing e.g. the Locrian trick played against the Sicels at Pol. 12.6.2–5 with *HCP* II 337; but Walbank’s comment ‘Greeks would admire a trick of this kind’ is too absolute. Scheid 2015: 84 comments more subtly that in a ritualistic society ‘playing with the formal basic principles of a rite is the rule, even if it sparked off debates’, but that on the present occasion, although the affair divided Romans, ‘contempt prevailed’. See further Davies 2004: 49 with n. 71. Part of the point of the present story (as of the action of the censors about to be described at 61.9) is to illustrate Roman severity and religious scruple; contrast *Punica fraus* or *fides*, which is such

a theme of L.'s third decade. By contrast, the Greek who perpetrates a comparable casuistry at Hdt. 4.154.4 gets away with it; his action is, however, honourable because it saves an innocent life, so unlike L.'s prisoner, he is a justified sinner, what Horace (*Carm.* 3.11.35) would call *splendide mendax*. **innotuit**: *innotesco* is rare before Christian writers, occurring only here in L., before and contemporaneously with him once in Ovid, and perhaps at *Bell. Hisp.* 18.3.

61.5–10 The Variant Account

This is not the only place where L.'s narrative proceeds without expression of doubt, but is followed by a variant. The most famous is the Trials of the Scipios at 38.50–60, where L.'s narrative from 50.4 to 55.7 gives no indication of uncertainty (though he does, unusually, cite Antias as his source), but is followed by his own doubts at 55.8–12 and a variant version in ch. 56. See Briscoe 2008: 176–7. Another example is the beginning of book 21, where the events in 6.1–15.2 are placed in 218 and L. then proceeds to argue that this is chronologically impossible (Levene 2010: 59–60 thinks that the apparent confusion is deliberate). This is the version of Acilius (see 58–61.1on.), and the whole passage, 10 apart, could have been printed in *FRHist* as Acilius 7F2b.

61.6 L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium: this is an example of 'polysyndeton', the use of many conjunctions (as opposed to their absence, asyndeton). Usually, but not here, L. uses it when he gives additional information about one of the names (W–M). These individuals are not otherwise known, except that L. says the first-named was a relative of the tribune about to be mentioned. The existence of these ambassadors is dubious and even if they are genuine, they will have become slaves: Calpurnius, therefore, cannot be the praetor of 211. Manlius, though, could be L. Manlius Vulso, praetor in 219 or 218, who was a candidate for the consulship of 216 (cf. 33.7n., 35.1).

61.7 tum demum ...: this emphasises that in the variant version there is a delay before the ambassadors are received in the senate, and on the *relatio* of a tribune, while at 59.1 they are given an immediate audience by the dictator. The debate can belong to both versions. **ab cognato Scriboni tribuno plebis**: this tribune is L. Scribonius (16) Libo: 23.21.6; he went on to be praetor in 204: *MRR* I 249 and 306. Tribunes had the *ius agendi cum senatu*, the right to convoke the senate.

61.8 religione sese exsoluissent: but such casuistry does not in fact absolve one from an oath: see 61.4n. **paucis sententiis** ‘by a small majority’, cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.75, *perpaucis sententiis* (of condemnation).

61.9 ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque: see 61.4n. For the censorial *nota*, a mark of disgrace, see Mommsen 1887–8: II 384–8. It often took the form of *tribu mouere*, that is, the censors removed the person from his ‘tribe’ (*tribus*, one of the thirty-five subdivisions of the Roman citizen body), by degrading him from one of the rural tribes to one of the less honourable urban tribes. Another form of censorial ‘ignominy’, often mentioned together with *tribu mouere* (as at 42.10.4) but apparently not identical with it, was to make the person an *aerarius*, an obscure but evidently humiliating status (it must have had something to do with the payment of *tributum*, 4.24.7). See Briscoe 2012a: 184 (42.10.4n.), citing Oakley 1998: 70 (7.2.12n.) and 2005a: 436–7 (9.34.9n.). **proximis censoribus:** the next censors after Cannae were those of 214, M. Atilius Regulus (25.16n.) and P. Furius Philus (35.5n.): *MRR* I 259. **ut quidam ...:** for suicide to avoid shame, see Griffin 1986: 193–4 and *OCD*¹ ‘suicide’.

61.10 mirari magis ...: for this sort of authorial interjection on the difficulty of ascertaining the truth, cf. the whole of 8.40 (for which ch. see also 7.4n.).

61.10–15 Allied Defections; Varro Thanked

61.10–12 quanto autem ... omnes Galli: Pol. (3.118.2–3) says that as a result of Cannae the Carthaginians gained control of almost all the rest of the coast (sc. of southern Italy), specifying Tarentum, Argyrippa (Arpi, see 1.9n.) and some Campanians. On Tarentum see below; Arpi had evidently defected before Hannibal wintered nearby in 215/214 (23.46.8, 24.3.16) and in 213 Dasius Altinius offered to betray it to Rome; in Campania, apart from Capua, Hannibal had little success.

L.’s list contains a number of peoples who did not defect in the immediate aftermath of Cannae and none whose defection at that time is attested (he omits Capua, so as not to anticipate what he is going to relate in book 23; Weissenborn thought *Campani* had fallen out; cf. De Sanctis 1968: 201 n. 1). L. here says that the allies’ loyalty (see below) began to falter after the battle; he does not claim that all the peoples he mentions defected immediately: in 13, however, he says that the defections did not change the Romans’ refusal to discuss peace either before or after Varro’s

return, as if they all occurred soon after Cannae. On the Etruscans and Umbrians, see 4.1n. on *peruastat*.

61.10 ea clades: the second ‘coda’, see 50.1n. For the noun, see 43.9n. **indicio <est quod fides socio>rum:** see Briscoe 2018: 80. P has *indiciorum*, the result of a scribe’s eye moving from one *cio* to another. The complete truth was realised by Alschefski, see app. **desperauerant de imperio:** they saw no prospect of Roman control of Italy surviving and believed that attempting to resist Hannibal would be pointless.

61.11 Atellani, Calatini: Atella and Calatia (*Barr.* map 44 F4, F3) are respectively 8 km. S and 5 km. SE of Capua and probably defected at the same time. After the fall of Capua the two cities received the same punishment as Capua itself (26.33.12). **Hirpini:** cf. 13.1n., 23.1.1. L. continues to regard them as distinct from the Samnites. **Apulorum pars:** since the battle took place in Apulia, the revolt of neighbouring towns was to be expected (though for Canusium see 52.7). Known defectors are Aecae (24.20.5), Arpi (see above) and, probably, Herdonea (see Briscoe 2018: 211–12). **Samnites praeter Pentros:** i.e. the Caudini (cf. De Sanctis 1968: 203 n. 9) and the Caraceni; but Caiatia remained loyal to Rome (23.14.13). The Pentri lived in the north of Samnium (*Barr.* map 44F2). **Bruttii omnes:** in fact Petelia and Consentia (mod. Cosenza) remained loyal (23.20.4, 30.5). The Bruttii (Latin writers never say *Bruttium*, but in English it is sometimes inconvenient to say ‘the Bruttii’; Italian has ‘Bruzio’) lived in the toe of Italy (mod. Calabria). **Lucani:** not all of them (25.16.5).

61.12 Vzontini: Ugentum, a city of the Sallentini, is mod. Ugento, in the heel of Italy (*Barr.* map 45 inset). There is no other evidence and it is unclear whether it was joined by the other Sallentini. **Tarentini ... Locrique:** Tarentum (59.7n.) did not defect until 212 (25.7–11.20), to be followed by Metapontum and Thurii (25.15.6). Locri and Croton surrendered to the Carthaginians in 215 (24.1–3; the population of Croton migrated to Locri). *Barr.* map references are: Tarentum 45 F4, Metapontum 45 E4, Thurii 46 D2, Locri 46 D5, Croton 46 E3. **Cisalpini omnes Galli:** the Gauls of the Po valley had welcomed Hannibal on his arrival in Italy in 218, though he could not count on their loyalty; cf. Briscoe, *CAH* VIII 47–9.

61.13 See 61.10–12n.

61.14 This famous scene was described by Coelius; see *FRHist* 15F17 and III 249–50. *Per.* 22 reproduces L.’s words closely; cf. Levene 2015a: 318–22. **magno animo:** in contrast to 54.11 *minore animo*, of the Carthaginians; cf. Oakley 2019: 171, 181. **cuius ... fuisset:** Levene 2019 argues that while L. appears to be saying that Varro had primary responsibility for Cannae, his view was in fact more complex. It is, however, not clear that L.’s statement here is authorial; the subjunctive may serve to indicate that this was the view of the citizens as a whole. See also Introduction p. 65. **ab omnibus ordinibus:** Silius (10.605–39) and Plutarch (*Fab.* 18.5) say that Fabius was one of the leading senators who greeted Varro; perhaps L. omitted this detail because he thought that Fabius was likely to have regarded Varro as foolish, or else (Oakley 2019: 182) he preferred to focus on the collective Roman *animus*. For warm civic greetings after a defeat, cf. 9.6.7 (the Capuans come out to greet the Romans after the disaster of the Caudine Forks, 321 BC) with Oakley 2005a: 102. See Introduction section 9 p. 80 n. 259. See also, for a suggestion about the possible wider implications of the passage, Introduction section 7(i).

61.15 The only known instance of the execution of a defeated Carthaginian commander is the crucifixion of Hanno, the garrison commander at Messana, who had been expelled by the Mamertines in 264 (Pol. 1.11.5); this, however, may have been action taken by his own soldiers, not the result of condemnation on his return to Carthage (cf. *HCP* 62). In any case, a garrison commander who abandoned his post is scarcely comparable to a general catastrophically defeated in a major battle. L., though, probably related the episode in book 16 and expected his readers to remember it. At 38.48.13 L. makes Cn. Manlius Vulso say that Carthaginian generals were crucified if they had been victorious despite a faulty strategy: there is no other evidence for this alleged practice. **nihil ... foret** ‘there was no punishment he would have been able to refuse’. *nihil recusandum supplicii* = *nullum supplicium recusandum*; for such neuter quantitative adjectives and pronouns with a partitive genitive, cf. 40.8, 31.24.18; K–St I 429–33. L. places the gerundive between *nihil* and *supplicii* (cf., e.g., Cic. *Cat.* 1.9, *paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae*, where *tibi ... nunc* splits *paulum* from the partitive genitive *morae*); he thus ends the book with a striking clause. For *foret* cf. 9.9n.

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